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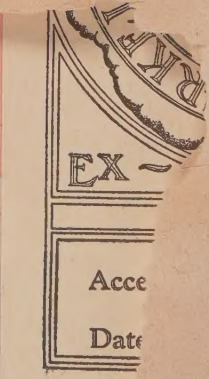
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AN

ABRIDGEMENT

OF THE

GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

BAPTIST DENOMINATION

IN AMERICA,

AND OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

BY DAVID BENEDICT, A. M.
Pastor of the Baptist Church in Pawtucket, R. I.

"The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." . . . . . PSALM CXXVI. 3.

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

BOSTON:

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Baptist Hist.

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Rhode Island District.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on this tenth day of October, 1820, DAVID BENEDICT, of said District, deposited in this office the title of a book, whereof he claims, as Author, in the following words, *to wit*:

"An Abridgement of the General History of the Baptist Denomination in America, and other parts of the world, by DAVID BENEDICT, A. M. Pastor of the Baptist church in Pawtucket, R. I. "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad, Psalm 126, 3. Two volumes in one."

In conformity to an Act of Congress of the United States, entitled, "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies, during the time therein mentioned:" and also to an Act entitled, "An Act for the Encouragement of Learning, by securing the Copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the Authors and Proprietors of such Copies during the time therein mentioned; and extending the benefit thereof to the Art of Designing, Engraving and Etching Historical, and other prints.

Witness,
BENJAMIN COWELL,
Clerk of the Rhode Island District.

PREFACE.

THE sale of about five thousand copies of this History, in its original expensive form, has been a gratifying circumstance to its Author, and has given satisfactory proof of the desire of the denomination, for whose benefit it was at first compiled, to be acquainted with the scenes through which their brethren have passed, and to learn their present situation in the world.

The work is now nearly out of print ; and as many have expressed a wish to see it in a condensed and cheaper form, for their accommodation, this *Abridgement* has been prepared, and is now presented to the public with corrections and additions.

The Article on Baptism has been wholly omitted, and the Author would refer the readers, for information on that subject, to his edition of Robinson's History of Baptism, from which most of the Article was taken, which has lately been published by Lincoln & Edmands of Boston, of whom it may be obtained.

16518

The substance of the *General History of the Baptists* will be found in this volume; and its perusal will convince the readers, that notwithstanding the prejudice under which the denomination labours, it is gradually advancing, in point of numbers and influence to an important stand in christendom; and that their grand distinguishing principle of *Believers' Baptism*, is making a rapid and triumphant march in the christian world. May the prudence and piety of the denomination be as remarkable, as have been their zeal and success.

DAVID BENEDICT.

Pawtucket, Oct. 9, 1820.

AN

ABRIDGMENT, &c.

CHAPTER I.

A SUMMARY VIEW OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

THE introduction of the gospel system was a most glorious and important event. At the time the Sun of Righteousness arose upon the world, it was in a state of profound ignorance, and the deepest moral misery.

The Jews, the ancient people of God, had generally departed from the piety of their ancestors, and were sunk into formality and hypocrisy. The Gentile nations, whether barbarous or civilized, were involved in the grossest idolatry; their deities were multiplied to an extravagant degree, almost every thing in creation was worshipped, and the enlightened city of Rome contained, at one time, thirty thousand different deities, which had been collected from the conquered nations. A magnificent temple, called the Pantheon, that is, the temple of all the gods, had been erected, in which this mighty host of divinities was assembled.

Towards the conclusion of the reign of Herod the Great, the Son of God, who had long been foretold by the ancient prophets, descended upon earth. Although the world was involved in darkness at this time, yet the nations were generally in a state of tranquillity and repose. The vast Roman empire, in which Palestine was then included, was less agitated with wars and tumults at the birth of Christ, than it had been for many years before. And, indeed, some historians have maintained that the temple of Janus* was then shut, and that wars and discords absolutely ceased throughout the world.

* Janus, according to heathen fable, was the most ancient king, who reigned in Italy. Some authors make him son of Apollo, some of Cœlus and Hecate, and others, a native of Athens. Janus is represented with two faces, because he was acquainted with the past and the future; or, according to others, because he

The manner in which the Messiah appeared, his ministry and death, and all the affairs of his kingdom and people, for many years after he ascended on high, are recorded in the New Testament. His disciples began to congregate into churches, soon after he left the earth. The church at Jerusalem was formed the evening of the glorious day of his ascension, in an upper room, and consisted of about a hundred and twenty believing men and women. The persecution, which arose about the time of Stephen's death, caused all the disciples of Jesus, except the apostles, to leave Jerusalem. They proceeded out every way like the radii of a circle from the centre and formed churches in many places, first in Palestine then in other parts of Asia, next in the Asiatic islands, and lastly in Europe.

Mr. Robinson has shewn that the apostles and primitive preachers gathered churches in between sixty and seventy different cities, towns and provinces, and in many instances a number were gathered in each. These churches were all composed of reputed believers, who had been baptized by immersion on the profession of their faith. Their bishops and elders were merely overseers of their spiritual flocks; they claimed no right to lord it over God's heritage; every church was an independent body, and no one claimed a right to regulate the affairs of another. If they met in council, as they did at Jerusalem, it was to advise, not to give law.

The church of Christ has always been taught by the conduct of the people of this world, that this is not her home. She was persecuted at first by the Jews, then by the pagans, and next by monsters under the christian name.

Christianity prospered greatly under the ministry of the apostles and primitive preachers, and in a short time was carried to most parts of the Roman empire, which extended in length above three thousand miles, from the river Euphrates in the east, to the western ocean; in breadth it was more than two thousand miles, and the whole consisted of above sixteen hundred thousand square miles.

was taken for the sun, who opens the day at his rising, and shuts it at his setting. He was chiefly worshipped among the Romans. His temple, which was always open in times of war, was shut only three times, for the space of seven hundred years, for during that long period of time the Romans were continually employed in war. *Classical Dictionary*

This vast empire was an assemblage of conquered kingdoms and provinces, and comprehended, at the commencement of christianity, most of the civilized world. And at this period, it is said to have contained, one hundred and twenty millions of souls.*

Providence seems to have chosen this vast dominion, for the scene of the first gospel labourers. The multitude of languages amongst its inhabitants was no obstruction to them, for they were inspired to speak with other tongues. Opposition they frequently met with, but this fell out to the furtherance of the gospel; for when persecuted in one city they fled to another, and carried with them the light of truth. The Lord gave the word to his servants, and great was the company, who published it abroad.

It would be difficult to form any probable conjecture of the number of converts to christianity in the early ages of the church, but it must have been immensely great, for it is supposed that three millions were sacrificed in the three first centuries, to the rage of pagan persecutors. In these three centuries there were ten general persecutions, fomented by so many cruel pagan emperours. They did not reign, however, in regular succession, and in the intervening spaces between their reigns, the empire was governed by princes, who entertained a great variety of opinions respecting christianity. Some turned it into ridicule, others showed some degree of clemency towards the christians; some repealed the persecuting laws of their predecessors, while others left them to their destructive operation. But the pagan priests continually employed their malicious eloquence to defame the disciples of Christ, and to rouse the persecuting sword against them. They laid to their charge the earthquakes, famines, pestilences, and conflagrations, and all the national calamities which happened where they resided. And they persuaded the magistrates that the gods sent down these judgments to avenge their lenity towards the christians.

The first of these ten persecutions was begun by the abandoned Nero. He was the first emperour who shed the blood of christians, and it is said that Peter and Paul were of the number. The city of Rome took fire, and a considerable part of it was consumed. The perfidious Nero was thought to have kindled the fire, but that cruel

* Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches, pp. 13, 14.

prince accused the innocent christians of the horrid crime, and avenged it upon them in a most barbarous manner. He caused some to be wrapped up in combustible garments, which were set on fire; others were fastened to crosses, others were torn to pieces by wild beasts, and thousands suffered death in the most horrid and cruel forms.

The persecutions under all the ten emperours, were similar in many respects; some of them were but short, and others of longer duration. The christians suffered every privation, and were put to death by all the excruciating tortures, which infernal ingenuity could invent. Multitudes were confined in theatres, where wild beasts were let loose upon them, and they were worried and devoured, for the diversion of thousands of barbarous spectators, who sat elevated above the reach of harm.

The third persecution was under Trajan, a prince renowned for many excellent qualities, but who was, nevertheless, a dreadful scourge to the disciples of Christ. The letters which passed between him and Pliny, the governor of Bythinia, I shall here transcribe.

C. Pliny to Trajan, Emperour, health.

"It is my usual custom, Sir, to refer all things, of which I harbour any doubts, to you. For who can better direct my judgment in its hesitation, or instruct my understanding in its ignorance? I never had the fortune to be present at any examination of christians, before I came into this province. I am therefore at a loss to determine, what is the usual object, either of inquiry or punishment, and to what length either of them is to be carried. It has also been with me a question very problematical, whether any distinction should be made between the young and the old, the tender and the robust; whether any room should be given for repentance, or the guilt of christianity once incurred is not to be expiated by the most unequivocal retraction; whether the name itself, abstracted from any flagitiousness of conduct, or the crimes connected with the name, be the object of punishment. In the mean time this has been my method, with respect to those who were brought before me as christians. I asked them whether they were christians? If they pleaded guilty, I interrogated them twice afresh, with a menace of capital punishment. In case of obstinate perseverance, I ordered them to be executed. For of this I had no doubt, whatever was the nature of their religion, that a sullen and obstinate inflexibility called for the vengeance of the magistrate. Some there were infected with the same madness, whom, on account of their privilege of citizenship, I reserved to be sent to Rome, to be referred to your tribunal. In the course of this business, informations pouring in, as is usual when they are encouraged, more cases occurred. An anonymous libel was exhibited, with a catalogue of names of persons, who

yet declared, that they were not christians then, or ever had been, and repeated after me an invocation of the gods and of your image, which, for this purpose, I had ordered to be brought with the images of the deities, performed sacred rites with wine and frankincense, and execrated Christ, none of which things, I am told, a real christian can ever be impelled to do. On this account I dismissed them. Others, named by an informer, first affirmed and then denied the charge of christianity, declaring that they had been christians, but had desisted, some three years ago, others still longer, some even twenty years ago. All of them worshipped your image, and the statues of the gods, and also execrated Christ. And this was the account which they gave me of the nature of the religion they once had professed, whether it deserves the name of crime or error, that they were accustomed on a stated day to meet before day-light, and to repeat among themselves an hymn to Christ as to a God, and to bind themselves by an oath, with an obligation of not committing any wickedness, but on the contrary, of abstaining from thefts, robberies, and adulteries, also of not violating their promise, or denying a pledge, after which, it was their custom to separate, and to meet again at a promiscuous, harmless meal, from which last they yet desisted, after the publication of my edict, in which, agreeably to your orders, I forbade any societies. On which account, I judged it the more necessary, to inquire by torture from two females, who were said to be deaconesses, what is the real truth. But nothing could I collect, except a depraved and excessive superstition. Deferring, therefore, any further investigation, I determined to consult you. For the number of culprits is so great, as to call for serious consultation. For many are informed against of every age and of both sexes, and more still will be in the same situation. For the contagion of the superstition hath spread not only through cities, but even villages and the country. Not that I think it impossible to check and correct it: The success of my endeavours hitherto forbids such desponding thoughts; for the temples, once almost desolate, begin to be frequented, and the sacred solemnities, which had long been intermitted, are now attended afresh; and the sacrificial victims are now sold every where, which once could scarce find a purchaser. Whence I conclude, that many might be reclaimed, were the hope of impunity on repentance absolutely confirmed."

Trajan to Pliny.

"You have done perfectly right, my dear Pliny, in the inquiry which you have made concerning christians. For truly, no one general rule can be laid down, which will apply itself to all cases. They must not be sought after. If they are brought before you and convicted, let them be capitally punished, yet with this restriction, that if any renounce christianity, and evidence his sincerity by supplicating our gods, however suspected he may be for the past, he shall obtain pardon for the future, on his repentance. But anonymous libels in no case ought to be attended to; for the precedent would be of the worst sort, and perfectly incongruous to the maxims of my government."

This Letter of Pliny's was written about 106 or 107. It suggests many remarks, which have been judiciously made by the late Rev. John Newton. They are found in the 6th volume of his works, New York edition.

Notwithstanding the violence with which persecution raged in the three first centuries, yet christianity never prospered more than in these trying times. The constancy of the christian sufferers emboldened their brethren to persevere, and led many to examine into the nature of that religion, which exposed its professors to such calamities, and which, at the same time, inspired them with such holy fortitude, amidst the torturing agonies of death. And their enemies soon found that *the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church.*

We are now about to take a view of the christian cause, under circumstances very different from those which have been related.

A little more than three hundred years after the birth of Christ, the Roman Emperor, Constantine the Great, embraced the christian faith, and not only abolished all the persecuting edicts of his predecessors, but established religion by law. And under legal establishments of different kinds, the great mass of christian professors have been included from that inauspicious period to the present time. The conversion of this emperour was effected by the miraculous appearance of a cross in the heavens, while he was marching at the head of his armies. This story has, however, been considered, and not without just grounds, a fabulous invention of after-times. And, indeed, the sincerity of this royal convert has never been fully established. But so it was, that either from motives of civil policy, or from a genuine conviction of its truth, he espoused the christian cause, and established it as the religion of his empire. This was hailed by most as an auspicious and promising measure; but it proved in the end to be a dangerous favour, big with calamity and harm. It was indeed a desirable thing to be freed from the rage of a persecuting power; it was also a pleasant sight, to the worshippers of the true God, to see the whole system of paganism, which had been the pride of ages, gradually dissolved and sinking into insignificance and contempt. And had Constantine repealed all persecuting laws, and left religion to stand upon its own foundation, he would have done essential service to the church of Christ, and every christian would have reason to respect his memory.

But when princes undertake in religion, they either do too much for it, or against it. "This zealous prince, (says Mosheim) employed all the resources of his genius, all the authority of his laws, and all the engaging charms of his munificence and liberality, to efface by degrees the superstitions of paganism, and propagate christianity in every corner of the Roman empire."* "Nothing (says Milner) can be more splendid than the external appearance of christianity at this time. An emperour, full of zeal for the propagation of the only divine religion, by edicts, restores every thing to the church of which it had been deprived, indemnifies those who had suffered, honours the pastors exceedingly, recommends to governors of provinces to promote the gospel—he also erects churches exceedingly sumptuous and ornamental, with distinctions of parts, corresponding in some measure to those in Solomon's temple; his mother Helena also fills the whole Roman world with her munificent acts in support of religion, and so on."†

Many were elated beyond measure at this external prosperity and magnificence: but the old veterans in the christian cause, foresaw the evils which were brooding over them. They judged rightly when they suspected that these splendid benefits were purchased at too dear a rate, for the emperour, who had taken the church into his princely favour, claimed the privilege of regulating its affairs.

Now religion assumed a prosperous appearance, but very little of the spirit of godliness was to be seen. Now the bishops and pastors, especially those in populous cities and towns, were exalted to a pitch of worldly grandeur, in consequence of the princely endowments which their churches had received. Now multitudes came swarming into the church, in pursuit of the emoluments which it offered them. Now blasting errors, augmented superstitions, and pompous and unmeaning forms of piety, which had long been gaining ground, ripened apace, and soon arrived to a dreadful maturity. In a word, every thing in faith and practice, that was opposite to the pure religion of Jesus, came pouring in like a flood, and this heavenly system was disrobed of its primeval beauty, and sunk beneath an oppressive load, from which it has never yet fully recovered.

The Bishop of Rome soon rose to preeminence among his brethren, on account of his local situation, and the

* Vol. I. p. 318. † Vol. II. p. 57.

foundation for the magnificent papacy was laid. The bishops of Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople, were soon exalted to superior dignity. Next came Archbishops, Patriarchs, Exarchs, Metropolitans, Suffragans, Popes, Cardinals, Monks, Nuns, Synods, Councils, Anathemas, Dungeons, Gibbets, Flames, and Death, all for the glory of a God of mercy, and the honour of his holy name.

We have now opened to a wide field, and a mighty mass of materials presents itself, which, however, we can but just glance upon without extending this article farther than would comport with its design.

In farther pursuing this subject, I shall relate, under separate heads, accounts of some of the most distinguished bodies of professed christians, and also of the most striking events which have occurred in the christian world.

The Church of Rome.

"THE Church of Rome is now a phrase of magnitude and splendour, yet at first it stood for no more than an assembly of converted Jews, dwelling at Rome, who met for worship in the hired house of Paul of Tarsus then a prisoner."*

The early history of this church is covered with obscurity, but the deficiency of historical facts has been supplied by Papist writers with a multitude of fabulous tales. But it is sufficiently evident that the church of Rome remained for a long time a small body of christians, who were but little known to the rest of the people of this great city. The bishop of Rome preached in a private house, and merely superintended the care of his little flock, and doubtless never expected his successors would arise to the highest summit of blasphemous eminence, and hurl their anathemas to distant nations, dethrone kings and emperors, and make them bow at their feet.

Silvester was bishop of Rome in the reign of Constantine, and Catholicks pretend that he was the thirty-fourth in succession. In the days of Sylvester, it is believed, that the people, who were afterwards called Waldenses, began to separate from the church, which had become a tool of state, and was fast plunging into error and superstition.

The bishop of Rome arose by gradual steps to eminence and authority, until he acquired the title of Univer-

* Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches, p. 117.

sal Bishop. This title was conferred upon Boniface III. by the emperor Phocas, in 606; and from this period writers generally date the rise of Antichrist. If this be correct, his reign will end, or the 1260 years will expire about fifty years hence.

From the time of Boniface III. to that of Gregory VII. a period of a little less than five hundred years, there were no less than a hundred and fourteen pontiffs elevated to the Papal chair,* and from the outrageous reign of the last mentioned pope, to the present time, the number of these antichristian bishops has been peculiarly great, but I am not able now to state it.

The history of the Roman pontiffs is replete with every thing shocking to the feelings of piety and humanity. Notwithstanding their high pretensions to sanctity, many of them were the most flagitious monsters that ever walked the earth; their scandalous amours were notorious throughout their dominions, and many of their illegitimate children have cut distinguished figures in the world. Their ambitious projects set the world in commotion; their avarice drained the coffers of their blind devotees, and Sixtus V. left behind him at his death, above five millions of gold.†

Some of those spiritual potentates were respectable as earthly princes, but others were the most violent and perfidious wretches that ever swayed a sceptre. And in their quarrels with surrounding sovereigns, they had the advantage of adding to their military forces, their thundering anathemas, by which princes were deposed from their thrones, their subjects absolved from their allegiance, and promised with pardons for rebellion, and heaven for success.

The pontificate was elevated to its highest pitch of worldly grandeur in the eleventh century, and the Man of Sin appeared to have attained the summit of arrogance and blasphemy in the person of Gregory VII. This pope was a monk before he was elevated to the papal chair. His name was Hildebrand; *Firebrand*, he might more properly be called. He assumed not only the appellation of Universal Bishop, but also those of Sovereign Pontiff, Christ's Vicar, Prince of the Apostles, God on earth, Lord God the Pope, His Holiness, King of kings and Lord of lords, Prince over all nations and kingdoms, The

* Trial of Antichrist, p. 14. † Millot's History, Vol. iv. p. 279.

Most Holy and Most Blessed, Master of the Universal World, Father of Kings, Light of the World, Most High and Sovereign Bishop, &c. &c.*

Gregory VII. was undoubtedly the most audacious pope that ever sat on St. Peter's throne, and his whole pontificate was a continual scene of tumult and bloodshed. He impiously attempted to submit to his jurisdiction the emperors, kings, and princes of the earth, and to render their dominions tributary to the See of Rome. He dethroned the emperor Henry IV. and then excommunicated him from the church, and obliged him to stand three days barefoot before the gates of Canosa on the Appinees, where he was regaling himself with his mistress Matilda, before he would grant him absolution.

This was the first instance of a prince being deposed by the pope; but this served as a precedent for many others, which the limits of this sketch will not permit us to name.

It may seem altogether incredible now, to those who have not studied the history of ancient times, that emperors, kings, and princes, should be hurled from their thrones, and disrobed of the functions of royalty, by the anathemas of the pretended vicar of Christ. What regard would the sovereigns of Europe now pay to the denunciations of Pius VII.? But the case was far different when Antichrist was reigning in the meridian of his strength. Then all the world were wondering after the beast, and the voice of St. Peter, by his pretended vicegerent on earth, was regarded as the voice of God. Sovereigns might spurn at the thunders of the Vatican, but their subjects regarded them as the mandates of Heaven; kingdoms were soon filled with rebellion; the lives of princes were in danger from those about them; for the bulls of his Holiness must be obeyed; kingdoms were laid under interdicts; every thing was thrown into confusion; and in these dreadful circumstances, the proud imperious princes of the earth, were reduced to the humbling necessity of bowing to the feet of St. Peter's successor, and becoming reconciled in the best manner they could to their spiritual master. And having gained the friendship of his Holiness, their subjects returned to their allegiance, and their kingdoms were restored to order. It was, however, certainly unfair for the popes to interpose the charms

* Trial of Antichrist, p. 41.

of their spiritual influence, in their quarrels with princes about worldly things.

The pope was surrounded by ten thousand satellites, all receiving their light, or rather their darkness from him. But above them all, were seventy-two cardinals, by whom he was elected. Armies of monks and ministers stood ready to obey his summons, and were dispersed in every country to execute his high commands. These emissaries were constantly employed in the affairs of princes, in the intrigues of courts, and many of them were elevated to the highest summit of worldly grandeur.

Councils.

The custom of holding councils, according to Mosheim, commenced in Greece in the second century. They were, by the Greeks, called synods. Councils were, at first, mere provincial assemblies, collected together for the purpose of regulating the affairs of particular districts; but they soon arose to the most august and powerful assemblies, and assumed the supreme command of the whole catholick world.

The popes frequently attended councils in person, and at other times they were represented by their legates and nuncios. Some of them were called by the pontiffs; at other times, they were afraid of their power, and tried to hinder their meeting, or dissolved them when assembled.

The first general council was held at Nice, in Bythinia, in 325, wherein the deputies of the church universal were summoned by the emperour Constantine, to put an end to the Arian controversy, which then began to rage extensively. At this council upwards of three hundred bishops were assembled; it held about a year. Some of the catholick councils sat many years, and assembled a standing army of bishops and ecclesiasticks, who stood ready to suppress every heretical whisper.

The council of Placentia, was the most numerous of any that had been hitherto assembled, and was, on that account, held in the open fields. There were present at it, two hundred bishops, four thousand ecclesiasticks, and three hundred thousand laymen.*

The council of Constance was begun in 1414, and was held four years. It was opened by pope John XXIII. and

* Mosheim, vol. II. p. 429.

was ended by Martin V. At this council were assembled, (says Millot) a prodigious number of cardinals, prelates, and doctors; above a hundred sovereign princes of Germany, with the emperour at their head; twenty-seven ambassadors, and innumerable deputies from all the different states and communities of Europe, and among the rest a crowd of ministrels, courtesans, &c. All Europe was in commotion about this council; it was summoned at the instance of the Emperour Sigismond, for the purpose of reforming the church, and checking the ambition of the pontiffs.

The papal chair, at this time, was deputed by three ambitious rivals, who had assumed the names of John XXIII. Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. But during the sitting of the Council, all the rival popes were deposed, and a new one was elected by the name of Martin V. John had been a corsair, that is a pirate, in his youth; a profession, says Millot, more suited to his temper, than the functions of an ecclesiastick. In the habit of a postilion, he escaped from Constance, to avoid the vengeance of an enraged populace.*

The famous council of Trent was held eighteen years, and during the lives of five popes. It commenced in 1545, some time after the reformation was begun by Luther.†

The resolutions of a general council, as well as the decisions of a pope, are, by the Catholicks, considered equal to scripture commands; but it is an unlucky circumstance that both popes and councils have passed decrees, not only different from, but in direct opposition to each other.

The Romans borrowed councils from the Greeks, and Protestants borrowed them from the Romans; and Presbyterian Synods and Congregational conventions, are considered by some as vestiges of the august and imposing councils we have thus briefly described. And, indeed, the meetings, called councils, among the Baptists, are thought by some to be branches of the same corrupt tree. I know not what Baptist councils may arrive to, but at present they are certainly very harmless things. A church calls a number of neighbouring elders and breth-

* Millot's History, vol. IV. p. 22. This account is given by a zealous Catholick, who does not, however, hesitate to censure, in the severest terms, the vices and enormities of his own community.

† Trent was the rendezvous for prostitutes from every quarter, during the sitting of the council. *Trial of Antichrist, p.* 139.

ren, to give them their advice in matters of difficulty. This advice is often received and proves highly beneficial; but it may be neglected, as it often is, and still no breach of fellowship, no interruption of communion between the advisers and the advised is occasioned thereby. But it must be acknowledged that churches founded on congregational and independent principles, cannot consistently have much business for councils, and I think the fewer there are among the Baptists the better. Our churches do undoubtedly sometimes refer difficulties to councils, which they might easy enough settle themselves.

CRUSADES, OR HOLY WARS.

In the eleventh century an attempt was made by the church of Rome, to recover the holy land from the possession of the Mahometans, and incredible numbers volunteered their services in these holy expeditions. But almost every thing under the name of religion, was at this time profligate and vile. The popes of Rome, from the time of Sylvester II. had contemplated the holy wars, but the troubles of Europe long prevented the execution of their arduous designs. Gregory VII. boasted that upwards of fifty thousand men were mustered to follow him in a holy war, which he intended to conduct in person, but was prevented by his quarrel with the emperour Henry IV. At length the long premediated war was undertaken. A monk of Picardy, commonly called Peter the Hermit, at his return from Jerusalem where he had been on pilgrimage, represented the oppression of the holy city, and the cruel treatment which the christians suffered, in such striking colours, that Urban II. thought proper to set both kings and people in motion to recover it. This hermit of a hideous figure, covered with rags, walking barefoot, speaking as a prophet, and hearkened to as such, inspired the people every where, with an enthusiasm similar to his own. He went through all the countries of *Europe* sounding the alarm of the holy war against the infidel nations; and with a view to engage the superstitious and ignorant multitude in his cause, he carried with him a letter which he said was written in heaven, and addressed to all true christians, &c. Success every where attended the declamations of this ragged orator, and innumerable multitudes of all ranks and orders offered themselves as volunteers in the sacred expedition. They all received

from the pope or bishops a cross of red stuff, which they wore upon their shoulders, and hence they were called crusaders, or cross-bearers, and the expedition was also from this circumstance denominated a crusade. The red cross procured a dispensation from all penance; but, when once taken, the wearers were obliged to set out under pain of excommunication. But few, however, were inclined to draw back, for they never doubted that the riches of Asia would recompense them a hundred fold; and if they died in the attempt, they were sure of heaven as the reward for their meritorious services. Cotemporary writers make the number of the first crusaders to exceed six millions; but the best authors make it only about one million and a quarter. This army, says Mosheim, consisted of a motely assemblage of monks, prostitutes, artists, labourers, lazy tradesmen, merchants, boys, girls, slaves, malefactors, and profligate debauchees, who were animated solely by the prospect of spoil and plunder, and hoped to make their fortunes by this holy campaign. Eighty thousand of this miserable rabble set out under the command of Peter the Hermit, and Walter the Needy. The rest followed under different leaders. They committed dreadful ravages in passing through Europe, and multitudes perished before they arrived in Asia. We cannot here give a history of the progress, of this mighty army of pilgrims, but it is sufficient to observe that but a handful of them lived to return.

A second crusade was preached up by St. Barnard, the Abbot of Clairval, whom Mr. Milner has tried to make out, a humble and holy man. He is represented by historians as running from town to town, performing numberless miracles to promote the cause of the holy war. The *miracle of miracles*, according to him, was his prevailing on the emperour Conrad III. to take upon him the cross, which he was not inclined to do. The second army of cross-bearers was not numbered, but it was immensely great. It was led on by the emperour Conrad, and most of them perished in the expedition.

Notwithstanding these unsuccessful campaigns, a blind infatuation prevailed, and a third crusade was undertaken by the emperour Frederick Barbarossa. Richard I. king of England was engaged in this crusade.

A fourth crusade was undertaken by Baldwin, count of Flanders; in this expedition Constantinople was taken, which was then inhabited by christians.

After this, a holy war was proclaimed in France against the poor innocent Albigenses; and thousands of them were slain by a band of bloody cross-bearers, for the glory of God, and the good of the church. Multitudes of Baptists perished in this bloody scene, as we shall show more fully when we come to their history.

These wars, impiously called holy, were carried on in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; they set all Europe in commotion; they drained kingdoms of their inhabitants, and filled the east with wretches, rapine, and blood. But we can pursue their history no farther. From the crusades a number of the orders of knighthood arose.

INDULGENCIES.

The sale of indulgencies was one of the most impious and infamous kinds of traffic, practised by the church of Rome. The bishops had long made a trade of the vices of mankind; that is, they compounded with transgressors, and for certain sums remitted the severe penances, which they had been sentenced to endure; and sinners, especially rich ones, finding it less troublesome to pay their money than to repent of their crimes, the bishops soon established a gainful trade. Every order of ecclesiastics had their peculiar modes of fleecing the people. The monks could not sell pardons, but they carried about the country the relicks of the saints, and permitted the deluded multitude to see, touch, and embrace them, at certain fixed prices. And thus the monastic orders gained as much by this rare-show, as the bishops did by their indulgencies.*

But at length the popes engrossed this profitable traffick to themselves; and Leo X. who afterwards hurled his thunderbolts against Martin Luther, for the purpose of replenishing his exhausted coffers, employed certain monks to travel abroad, to promote the sale of indulgencies.

Among these detestable characters none acted a more conspicuous part, than a Dominican friar, named John Tetzel. He travelled through Germany, proclaiming the pardons of the pope, promising to sinners of every description, for fixed prices, a full remission of all sins past, present and future. In describing the efficacy of indulgencies, he, among other horrid expressions, declared

* Mosheim, vol. III. p. 81.

that, *if any one had defloured the mother of God, he had power from the pope to efface his guilt.* He further boasted that he had saved more souls from hell by these indulgencies, than St. Peter had converted to christianity by his preaching.*

SUPEREROGATION.

Cardinal Cajetan declared that *one drop of Christ's blood was sufficient to redeem the whole world, and that the remaining quantity, that was shed in the garden and on the cross, was left as a legacy to the church, to be disposed of by his vicegerent on earth.*†

The doctrine of supererogation had been invented long before this time. This doctrine was founded upon the false supposition, that the superabundant good deeds of the saints, had procured a boundless treasure of merit, which might, by the pope, be applied to the benefit of others.

The preaching of Indulgencies in Germany, opened the eyes of many, roused the zeal of Luther, and the reformation in the sixteenth century immediately succeeded.‡

* The pardon-mongers collected immense sums from every nation they were sent to, as appears by one friar Samson, who collected 120,000 crowns among the Swiss only.

Trial of Antichrist, p. 138.

† Trial of Antichrist, p. 21.

‡ In the second volume of Saurin's sermons, Mr. Robinson, the translator, has inserted an extract from the tax-book of the Roman Chancery. There we meet with such articles as these:

"Absolution for killing one's father or mother, 1 ducat, 5 carlins.

Ditto for all the acts of lewdness committed by a clerk, with a dispensation to be capable of taking orders, and to hold ecclesiastical benefits, &c. 36 tournois, 3 ducats.

Ditto for one who shall keep a concubine, with a dispensation to take orders, &c. 21 tournois, 5 ducats, 9 carlins.

As if this traffic were not scandalous enough of itself, it is added, *Take notice particularly,* that such graces and dispensations are not granted to the *poor;* for not having wherewith to pay, they cannot be *comforted.*

The zeal of the reformers against the church of Rome ceaseth to appear intemperate in my eye, when I consider these detestable enormities."

Some Account of the Persecutions which have been carried on by the Church of Rome.

This church, among other enormities, is covered with the blood of saints, which is crying for vengeance on its polluted head. The murderers and cruelties of which this bloody community has been guilty, can be but briefly touched upon here; but it is supposed, if I mistake not, that three millions of lives have been sacrificed to the persecuting rage of the papal power. Among these, upwards of a million were of the people called Waldenses or Albigenses.

On the fatal night of St. Bartholomews, August 24, 1572, about seventy thousand persons were murdered in Paris, in the most barbarous manner, by the influence of the pope, and by the instrumentality of the bloodthirsty Charles IX. Within thirty years, there were murdered in France 39 princes, 148 counts, 234 barons, 147,518 gentlemen, and 760,000 persons of inferior rank in life, but whose blood equally called for justice. Three hundred thousand of these were murdered in a few years, by that furious catholic, Charles IX.*

The massacre of St. Bartholomews happened in the following manner; a match was concluded between Henry, (afterwards Henry IV.) the young king of Navarre, a protestant, and the French King's sister. The heads of the protestants were invited to celebrate the nuptials at Paris, with the infernal view of butchering them all, if possible, in one night. This horrid scene is thus described by the author of the Trial of Antichrist: "Exactly at midnight on the eve of St. Bartholomews, (so called) 1572, the alarm bell was rung in the Palais Royale, as the signal of death. About five hundred protestant barons, knights and gentlemen, who had come from all parts to honour the wedding, were, among the rest, barbarously butchered in their beds. The gentlemen, officers of the chamber, governours, tutors, and household servants of the king of Navarre, and prince of Conde, were driven out of the chambers where they slept in the Louvre, and being in the court, were massacred in the king's presence. The slaughter was now general throughout the city, and as Thuanus writes, "that the very channels ran down with blood into the river." This was, however, magnifi-

* Many of the Waldenses and Albigenses are included in this number.

ed as a glorious action, and the king who was one of the most active murderers, boasted that he had put 70,000 *hereticks* to death. I might quote the words of a French author, who wrote the history of France, from the reign of Henry II. to Henry IV. and say, "How strange and horrible a thing it was, in a great town, to see at least 60,000 men with pistols, pikes, cutlasses, poinards, knives, and other bloody instruments, run, swearing and blaspheming the sacred Majesty of God, through the streets and into houses, where most cruelly they massacred all, whomsoever they met, without regard of estate, condition, sex, or age. The streets paved with bodies cut and hewed to pieces; the gates and entries of houses, palaces, and public places, dyed with blood. Shouting and hallooings of the murderers, mixed with continual noise of pistols and calivers discharged; the pitiful cries and shrieks of those that were murdering. Slain bodies cast out of the windows upon the stones, and drawn through the dirt. Strange noise of whistlings, breaking of doors and windows with bills and stones. The spoiling and sacking of houses. Carts, some carrying away the spoils, and others the dead bodies, which were thrown into the river Seine, all now red with blood, which ran out of the town and from the king's palace." While the horrid scene was transacting, many priests ran about the city with crucifixes in one hand, and daggers in the other, to encourage the slaughter."*

In the short reign of the ever to be execrated popish Mary, queen of England, there were burnt in that kingdom, one archbishop, four bishops, twenty-one preachers, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, a hundred husbandmen and labourers, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine unmarried women, two boys and two infants.

Forty thousand perished in the Irish massacre, in 1641.

In a very short time, there were hanged, burned, buried alive, and beheaded, 50,000 persons in the Netherlands.

The single order of Jesuits alone are computed, in the space of thirty or forty years, to have put to death 900,000 christians, who deserted from popery. And the Inquisition, the bloody instrument of papal vengeance, in the space of about thirty years, destroyed, by various torture, 150,000.†

* Trial of Antichrist, p. 134—5.

† Trial of Antichrist throughout.

We shall now take leave of this corrupt and bloody church. It has evidently been declining between two and three hundred years. The pope, its once furious and powerful head, is now reduced to a state of humiliation and dependance. But the instrument of his reduction has become so unpopular, that christians generally do not appear to regard with much interest, the astonishing change of circumstances in this troubler of nations, and blood-thirsty enemy of the church of God.*

THE GREEK CHURCH.

This name is given to a very large body of christians, who reside in the east. The Greek church is said to be as large or larger than the Roman, and is probably as much loaded with unnecessary ceremonies; but it is not sunk so deep in absurdity and blood.

The history of the Greek church is covered with obscurity, and but a very brief view of it can be given here. Multitudes of the first converts to christianity resided where were once the ancient republicks of Greece, and spake the Greek language, in which the New-Testament was written.

Constantine, the Roman emperour, soon after he had embraced christianity, removed the seat of empire from Rome, in Italy, to Byzantium, in Thrace, and having enlarged, enriched, and adorned it, solemnly conferred on it his own name, and called it Constantinople, that is, Constantine's city. It still remains one of the most magnificent cities of the east, and is now the seat of the Turkish emperour.

* Notwithstanding the cruelties and abominations of the church of Rome, it is charitably hoped that amongst the millions of this community, there always have been many humble and pious souls; but I cannot gain the least evidence, that any one of the popes was acquainted with the power of godliness, and many wonder that any real christian should remain in a church so superstitious and vile. But we can have but a faint view now of the darkness in which all were involved, and of the danger to which dissenters were exposed. All who dissented from popery were denounced hereticks, and the thunder of excommunication followed them, and they were immediately excluded from all civil rights. Hereticks could make no wills, nor acquire any thing by the testaments of others. They could not be admitted to any dignities, offices, or communities. They could not avail themselves of any courts, or derive any benefits from laws. Their friends could not obtain decent burial for them. They were exposed to popular contempt and hatred; in some cases to banishment, in others to imprisonment, confiscation of property and ignominious deaths.
Robinson's Ecclesiastical Researches, p. 144.

Eusebius was the bishop of Constantinople in the time of Constantine, while Sylvester was bishop of Rome. As the new metropolis arose in grandeur, its bishop experienced a proportionable increase of dignity and opulence, and the bishop of Rome soon found in him an ambitious and powerful rival. These two imperial bishops struggled hard for dominion; each claimed the whole, secured what they could gain, and in the end divided the command of all the churches in christendom, or at least of those who would submit to their authority.

The bishop of Rome took the name of Pope, from the Greek word *papas*, which signifies *father;* the bishop of Constantinople assumed the Old-Testament title of Patriarch, and by this appellation he is yet distinguished. The struggles between the Roman pontiff and the Grecian patriarch, for preeminence and power, were long and obstinate; both claimed the title of Universal Bishop, which was finally conferred on the pope, in 606, by the emperour Phocas, and thenceforward the bishop of Rome arose superior to his rival in dignity and crimes.

Constantinople and a considerable part of the ancient dominions of the Greek church, has, for a number of centuries, been in possession of the Mahometans, and the patriarch himself exercises the high functions of his office, merely by the toleration of the disciples of the prophet of Mecca.

The bishops of Rome and Constantinople continued their rivalship, and reciprocal accusations, without coming to an open rupture, until the eleventh century. Then a war of anathemas commenced; they hurled their thunderbolts at each other, and a total separation took place between the Greek and Latin churches, which, notwithstanding the soothing artifices of the popes and Jesuits, has never been healed.

PROTESTANTS.

Long before the time of Luther many had attempted to shake off the papal yoke, and revive the spirit of godliness among the multitudes, who were groaning beneath an oppressive load of absurdities and superstitions. Among the principal men of this character we may reckon Claude of Turin in Piedmont, Peter de Bruys and Henry his disciple, Peter Waldo of Lyons in France; Wickliff, the morning of the Reformation; John Huss, and Jerome of

Prague; either of these men, had the time arrived for the pillars of Babylon to be shaken, and had Providence seconded their views, might have done as much as was performed by Luther. They successively made noble stands against the man of sin, and sometimes struck terrour even to the seat of the beast; and by their evangelical exertions, multitudes of their fellowmen were enlightened, and led into the paths of salvation. But the Dragon was permitted to make successful war against them, and most of them fell victims to his rage. Their followers were either destroyed or dispersed, and their names and principles were covered with infamy and disgrace. Wickliff was hunted with violence at first, but he outlived the persecuting storm, which had been raised against him, and died in peace at the parish of Lutterworth in England in 1387. But forty years after, his bones were dug up by order of the council of Constance, and publickly burnt. Wickliff's followers were called Lollards, and among them were many Baptists, as we shall show when we come to treat of their history.

But while the Roman pontiff slumbered in security at the head of the church, and saw nothing throughout the vast extent of his dominion but tranquillity and submission; and while the worthy and pious professors of genuine christianity almost despaired of seeing that reformation on which their most ardent desires and expectations were bent; an obscure and inconsiderable person arose, on a sudden, in 1517, and laid the foundation of this long expected change, by opposing, with undaunted resolution, his single force to the torrent of papal ambition and despotism. This extraordinary man was Martin Luther, a native of Aisleben in Saxony, where he was born in 1483. Luther was a man of a bold and fearless spirit, and well qualified to hear undaunted the terrifick thunders of the pope, and to execute the work, which, we cannot hesitate to believe, he was raised up by Divine Providence to perform. But although his virtues were many, his failings were great; and his temptations to think more highly of himself than any fallible man ought to think, were many. Soon after he began his successful career, he drew the attention of most of the European world, not because of his own personal greatness, but on account of the glorious work in which he took the lead. Pope Leo X. and all his creatures, both ecclesiastical and civil, fixed their jealous eyes on this threatening innova-

tor, and levelled their vengeance against his devoted head. On the other hand, all the pious, who groaned in bondage, looked up to him with the most lively hopes and expectations. The powerful Elector of Saxony, soon took him under his patronage; other princes of Germany became his admirers and defenders, and the sovereigns of other kingdoms invited him and his associates, into their dominions. With all these stimulations to pride, with all these attentions from enemies and friends, it is not altogether strange, that Luther became conceited and dogmatical, and discovered a portion of that intolerance towards others, which had been exercised towards him. Had Luther possessed the mild and yielding spirit of Melancthon, his cotemporary and successor, he might not have withstood, with such heroick fortitude, the vehemence of the papal power, but he doubtless would have treated with more condescension, those who importuned him to carry the reformation farther than he did, and especially the German Baptists, who vainly hoped to see a reformation in the article of baptism.

But it is not my intention or desire, to detract one particle of merit from this distinguished reformer; nor will the limits of this review permit me to make any further strictures on his character. He was educated an Augustine monk; and in the monastick habit, under the vows of celibacy, he began that mighty career, which elevated him to the pinnacle of fame, and terminated in essential and abundant good to mankind.

Out of the Lutheran church arose another, which was called the reformed, and which was founded by Ulrich Zuinglius, a native of Switzerland. Zuinglius began a successful opposition to indulgencies, and to the whole fabrick of papacy in Switzerland, about the time that Luther began in Saxony. The Swiss reformer differed widely from Luther in many articles, and was much more evangelical and consistent in his views of the eucharist, and of other matters both of faith and practice. But he fell in the battle that was fought in Urich, in 1530, between the Protestants and Catholicks.*

* It was not indeed to perform the sanguinary office of a soldier that Zuinglius was present at this engagement, but with a view to encourage and animate by his counsels and exhortations, the valiant defenders of the protestant cause: A lame cause that needs the defence of the sanguinary soldier. In a note, Dr. Moshiem has given a much more satisfactory apology for Zuinglius, than

Calvin began his course a little after Luther and Zuinglius. He was born at Noyon, in Picardy, in France, in 1509. Luther, Zuinglius, and Calvin, became the heads of three distinguished parties, which were called after their names. They acted at first in concert, in the great business of the Reformation, but soon they clashed most violently with each other both in their sentiments and measures.

Besides these three reformers, there were a number of others who engaged with much zeal and success in the Protestant cause, and were distinguished in their day for various qualities and performances, and for a common principle of opposition to the church of Rome. Among these we may reckon Melancthon, Carolostadt, Bucer, Erasmus, Menno, Oecolampadius, and others. Luther and Calvin, however, have shared most of the glory of the great and important change which was effected in the religious world in the beginning of the sixteenth century. But Calvin surpassed not only Luther, but all his cotemporaries in learning and parts, as he did most of them in obstinacy, asperity, and turbulence. Luther fixed his stand at Wittemberg in Saxony, and was succeeded in the general care of the great hierarchy, which he established, by the soft and complying Melancthon. Calvin made his stand at Geneva, on the confines of Switzerland. Calvin is famous for his defence of predestination and absolute decrees, and also for his opposition to the Anabaptists. From Calvin's followers originated the Presbyterians; and many other sects, who have adopted either in full or in part, his notions of predestination and grace, have consented to be called by his name.

In the reign of Edward VI. but more especially in that of his sister Elizabeth, the successor of the furious and implacable Mary, many were desirous of a purer church than had hitherto been established. These persons were called Puritans, and under this denomination was, for a long time, comprehended a large body of English disserters and non-conformists, among whom there existed a great variety of opinions and practices. From the Puritans originated the Independents, and many of the Baptists in England, the Congregationalists of America, and a multitude of other sects and parties, whom the limits of this work will not permit us even to name.

the above, which is found in the body of his work. "At this time the Swiss were universally obliged to take the field. Neither the ministers of the gospel nor the professors of theology were exempted from military service." Vol. iv. p. 353.

MISSIONS.

The apostles and early preachers were almost all Missionaries, and their evangelical journies were performed on missionary ground. They had no regard to parish lines, nor ecclesiastical districts; they asked not for licences, they waited not for appointments, they sought no emoluments, but by the call of God they went forth, dependent on the treasury of heaven they journied, and aided by the common successors and miraculous influences of the Holy Spirit, they went every where preaching the word and performing wonders in the name of the Lord Jesus.

The church of Rome has done much in the missionary cause. Multitudes have been sent forth in every age by that august community. Some of them were doubtless better than their masters, and rendered essential service to mankind, while others were artful and ambitious men, full of every thing vile and detestable, and destitute of every thing good; and having imbibed the spirit of their masters, laboured more for the glory of the See of Rome, than for the everlasting benefit of the heathen.

But leaving the church of Rome, we will take a short view of the Protestant communities which have made laudable exertions for the promotion of missions. And among these the Moravians deserve first to be mentioned. It is said by Dr. Haweis, that no denomination of Protestants has displayed an equal degree of zeal, or met with equal success in their missionary labours. To a number of the different tribes of the American Indians; to many of the West India Islands; to the frozen regions of Greenland; to the coast of Coromandel; and to the ignorant and brutish Hottentots, the zealous Moravians have carried the word of life, and many thousands have, by their means, been converted to the Lord.

The Danish nation began in the missionary cause, about a hundred years ago. Their labours have been directed to Greenland and the Malabar coast, and multitudes have been converted to the profession of christianity at least.

The Church of England possesses ample revenues for missionary purposes, but she has hitherto done but little.

But within a few years past a remarkable missionary spirit has prevailed on both sides of the Atlantic. The Evangelical Missionary Society of London has done much, and promises to do much more. The Baptist Missiona-

ry Society of England is a most important establishment, and will be noticed in its proper place. Many noble exertions have been made in the Missionary cause by the American Pedobaptists; and the American Baptists have not been idle in this important cause, as will be shown towards the close of this work.

This Compendium is intended to be introductory to the chapters, which will immediately follow, and may serve as a key to many events and circumstances, which will there be referred to.

☞ The article on Baptism is entirely omitted, and the reader is referred to an Abridgment of Robinson's History of Baptism, edited by the Author, and lately published by Lincoln & Edmands.

CHAP. II.

A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE BAPTISTS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES AND ANCIENT TIMES.

THIS chapter will extend from the introduction of christianity to about the time of the reformation under Luther and his associates.

All sects trace their origin to the Apostles, or at least to the early ages of christianity. But many, and especially the powerful ones, have laboured hard to cut off the Baptists from this common retreat. They have often asserted and taken much pains to prove that the people now called Baptists originated with the mad men of Munster, about 1522. We have only to say to this statement, that it is not true. And notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, we still date the origin of our sentiments, and the beginning of our denomination, about the year of our Lord twenty-nine or thirty; for at that period John the Baptist began to immerse professed believers in Jordan and Enon, and to prepare the way for the coming of the Lord's Anointed, and for the setting up of his kingdom.

But before we proceed any farther, it is proper that the terms Baptist and Anabaptist should be defined.

A Baptist is one, who holds that a profession of faith, and an immersion in water, are essential to baptism. An Anabaptist is one who is rebaptized. The name of Baptist we admit is significant and proper; but that of Ana-

baptist we reject as slanderous, and no ways descriptive of our sentiments and practice; and when our opponents accuse us of Anabaptism, we always understand the charge as the language either of ignorance or malice. In one sense there were never any Anabaptists in christendom, and yet according to historians there have been multitudes in different ages and countries. All, who ever administered baptism a second time, did it upon the supposition that the first baptism was imperfect. No party of christians ever held to two baptisms, or presumed to repeat the baptismal rite, after it had been, in their opinion, once properly administered. In this sense there never have been any Anabaptists, although multitudes have rebaptized, or, in other words, performed in a right manner, what, upon their principles, had been improperly done. According to Robinson there have been six sorts of christians, who have been called Anabaptists, as different from one another, as can well be imagined. The first placed the essence of baptism in the virtue of the person baptized; the second placed it in the form of words pronounced in the administration; the third in the virtue of the administrator; the fourth in the consent of the person baptized; the fifth in dipping; and the sixth in both a profession of faith and an immersion.

By all of these classes multitudes were rebaptized, and yet no party acknowledged themselves Anabaptists; for they all thought that there was one Lord, one faith, and one baptism, and that their own. The Catholicks most eagerly contend that pope Sylvester baptized Constance the Great into the faith of the Trinity at Rome, and the evidence seems respectable. It is however certain that he was baptized at Nicomedia just before his death, and it is supposed by Eusebius, into the Arian faith. Both affirm they baptized him; neither says he was rebaptized, because neither accounted the other a valid baptism. Probably, some Catholic writers express the matter exactly as it was. Sylvester baptized the emperour, and Eusebius rebaptized him. They affirm the same of the emperour Valens, and denominate both these emperours Anabaptists.

Dionysius and his followers in Egypt, the Acephali, Novatus of Rome, Novatian of Carthage, all the Novatian churches, Donatus and his numberless followers, called after him Donatists, of whom there were four hundred congregations at one time in Africa, all rejected the baptism administered by those, who have since been called

Catholicks, whom they reputed hereticks, and whose churches they called habitations of impurity; and all such as came from those churches to them they rebaptized.

In the year 325, the council of Nice decreed, that all who came over to the established church, from the Paulianists, both men and women, should be rebaptized, while proselytes from the Novatians or Puritans were admitted by the laying on of hands. The reason for this difference was, that the Novatians baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, while the Paulianists, who denied the Trinity, omitted this form. For a long time the Catholicks rejected the baptism of the Arians, and the Arians in return rejected theirs. Both parties rebaptized their proselytes, and all practised dipping.

These are a few of the many facts, which might be adduced to show that Anabaptism, as it is improperly called, is not peculiar to the Baptists. According to the common acceptation of the term, her imperial majesty Catherine III. late empress of all the Russias, was an Anabaptist. "For it is strictly true," as an elegant and accurate historian observes, "that in the year 1745, Peter, afterwards Czar, Peter III. espoused Sophia Augusta, princess of Anhalt Zerbst, who, upon being rebaptized, according to the rites of the Greek church, was called Catherine Alexiefna."*

Thus much for the general subject of rebaptization. Whatever notions of impiety people may now attach to the practice, it is certain that all parties have been more or less guilty of it.

We shall now turn our attention to that class of Anabaptists, with whom we claim relation, and who would now be considered Baptists, by whatever name they were formerly called. This is the sixth class in Mr. Robinson's list of rebaptizers. They have ever held, that a personal profession of faith, and an immersion in water are essential to baptism. Christians of these sentiments have existed in every age, and their number has been larger than their friends generally imagine, or than their opposers are ever willing to acknowledge. The first christians were undoubtedly all Baptists, and we believe they will all be Baptists again, when they are all brought to keep the ordinances of Christ as they were first delivered to the saints. For almost three centuries baptism was in

* Robinson's History of Baptism, p. 459, 460.

the main rightly administered by all parties, for they all required a profession of faith, and all immersed.

We do not pretend that the primitive saints were called Baptists; all went under the general denomination of Christians, and when they began to file off into parties, they took the names of the men by whom they were led. It is not the history of a name, but the prevalence of a principle, of which we are in search. No denomination of Protestants can trace the origin of its name farther back than about the time of the reformation, and most of them have originated since that period. And I suppose it was about this time that our brethren began to be called Baptists. And I am inclined to think that they assumed the name in opposition to that of Anabaptists, with which their enemies were continually reproaching them. But that all the primitive christians would have been called Baptists, if sentimental names had then been in use, and that there always has been a people on earth, from the introduction of Christianity, who have held the leading sentiments by which they now are, and always have been peculiarly distinguished, is a point which I most firmly believe, and which I shall now attempt to prove.

I know that all denominations take this ground, and attempt to prove that their sentiments have existed from the Apostles through every age. The Catholick pretends that his church is of Apostolic origin, and was founded by St. Peter, and he can easily prove that a very large portion of the christian world, has, for many centuries, been and now is of his belief. The Churchman pleads that all the first christians were Episcopalians, and that Bishops Paul, Peter, Timothy, and Titus, governed the churches; and he moreover supposes that Paul's parchment, which he left at Troas, contained his epi-copal authority. The Presbyterians, Independents, Congregationalists, Quakers, Methodists, and all contend that their churches are built after the Apostolic model. And even the Shaking Quaker, although he can make no good pretension to Apostolical succession, yet claims relation to the hundred and forty and four thousand who have not defiled themselves with women. I am not about to dispute the pretensions or proofs of any one sect in christendom. It is not my object to show what is not true respecting them, but what is true respecting ourselves. The Episcopalian can find Bishops, and the Presbyterian Elders or Presbyters among the primitive christians, and

the Congregationalist and Independent, have good grounds for saying that the Apostolic churches were of their belief respecting church government. The Baptists believe in Episcopacy and Presbyterianism or eldership, when explained according to their sense of the terms. They hold to the zeal of the Methodists, and the inward light of the Quakers, when regulated and explained according to their sense of propriety and correctness. With most denominations they find something with which they agree. But in the article of baptism they differ from all. While their brethren all around admit infants to baptism, they have always confined the rite to professed believers, and a baptism without an immersion is, in their opinion, "like a guinea without gold."

The Baptists have been distinguished from other sects, not only in their views of the subjects and mode of baptism, but they have always held to other sentiments peculiar to themselves, and which they consider essential important truths, but which their opponents have branded with the name of dangerous errors or damnable heresies.

The supporters of believers' baptism have, under every form of government, been the advocates for liberty; and for this reason, they have never flourished much except in those governments where some degree of freedom has been maintained. Arbitrary States have always oppressed them, and driven them for refuge to milder regions. "They cannot live in tyrannical States, and free countries are the only places to seek for them, for their whole publick religion is impracticable without freedom." In political changes they have always been friendly to the cause of liberty, and their passion for it has at different times led some into acts of indiscretion, and scenes of danger. But with a few exceptions, we may say in truth, that the Baptists have always adhered to their leading maxim, to be *subject to the powers that be;* and all the favour they as christians have asked of civil governments has been *to give them their Bibles, and let them alone.* The interference of the magistrate in the affairs of conscience, they have never courted, but have always protested against. Classical authority and priestly domination they have ever opposed and abhorred, and the equality of christians, as such, and the absolute independency of churches, they have most scrupulously maintained. Learning they have esteemed in its proper place; but they have also uniformly maintained, that the servants of God may preach his gos-

pel without it. The distinction between their ministers and brethren is less than in almost any other denomination of christians; whatever abilities their ministers possess, they reduce them to the capacity of mere teachers; and they consider all not only at liberty, but moreover bound to exercise, under proper regulations, the gifts they may possess, for the edification of their brethren.

We have thus endeavoured to define the term Anabaptist, and have shown that it never has been admitted by any party as a significant term, but has always been considered slanderous and improper. We shall frequently make use of it in the following sketches, but it must be understood, that we use it as a word, which custom has made necessary.

We have also attempted to give a brief definition of the term Baptist, and have at the same time exhibited some of the leading principles and features of the people to whom it is applied. We shall endeavour to give some few sketches of the history of that class of christians, whom we consider Baptists, or who have maintained the ordinances of Christ as they were first delivered to the saints.

This chapter embraces a period of about fifteen hundred years; most of which time the church was in the wilderness, and for that reason we cannot expect to learn much respecting her. No human pen has recorded her history with any degree of correctness, but it is registered on high, and will be exhibited in the great day of accounts. In travelling down the records of a worldly sanctuary we get a glimpse now and then of the friends of godliness, and we generally behold them destitute, afflicted, and tormented. Some of the saints mistook the time of their Lord's coming, and ventured out from their obscure retreats, in hopes to meet him in his providential dealings, but they generally met with disaster and death. Antichrist sent his archers into the wilderness to hunt the disciples of Jesus, and by them some reports have been communicated of their character and situation. But after all, we know but very little of the real church of Christ, for the long lapse of many hundred years. We have very ample accounts of the antichristian church through all her movements; and the affairs of some of the saints in Babylon are very minutely detailed. But the history of the uncorrupted church, which maintained the worship and ordinances of Christ, while all the world was wondering after the beast, is covered with obscurity, and probably lost in oblivion.

From the New Testament account of the primitive christians, we are led to think they were Baptists. But we will quote the accounts given of them by two authors, and then the reader may judge for himself. Mosheim was no friend to the Baptists, and yet he has made many important concessions in their favour; and in relating the history of the primitive church, he has given a description which will not certainly apply to his own church, the Lutheran, nor to any sect in christendom except the Baptists. "Baptism," he observes, "was administered in the first century without the public assemblies, in places appointed for that purpose, and was performed by immersion of the whole body in water." By this account it appears that the first christians went "streaming away (as Dr. Osgood would say) to some pond or river" to be baptized. Respecting church discipline, the same writer observes: "The churches in those early times were entirely independent, none of them subject to any foreign jurisdiction, but each one governed by its own rulers and laws. For though the churches, founded by the Apostles, had this particular deference shewn them, that they were consulted in difficult and doubtful cases, yet they had no juridical authority, no sort of supremacy over the others, nor the least right to enact laws for them. Nothing on the contrary is more evident than the perfect equality that reigned among the primitive churches." "A bishop, during the first and second century, was a person who had the care of one christian assembly, which at that time was, generally speaking, small enough to be contained in a private house. In this assembly he acted not so much with the authority of a *master*, as with the zeal and diligence of a faithful *servant*."*

"There was," says Robinson, "among primitive christians, an uniform belief that Jesus was the Christ, and a perfect harmony of affection. When congregations multiplied, so that they became too numerous to assemble in one place, they parted into separate companies, and so again and again, but there was no schism; on the contrary, all held a common union, and a member of one company was a member of all. If any person removed from one place to reside at another, he received a letter of attestation, which was given and taken as proof; and this custom very prudently precluded the intrusion of impostors.

* Mosheim, vol. i. pp. 103, 104, 105, 126.

In this manner was framed a catholick or universal church. One company never pretended to inspect the affairs of another, nor was there any dominion, or any shadow of dominion, over the consciences of any individuals. Overt acts were the only objects of censure, and censure was nothing but voting a man out of the community."

Let any candid man compare the different denominations of christians of the present day with these descriptions of the primitive church, and he will, we think, be at no loss to determine which comes the nearest to it. But Mr. Robinson goes farther, and determines the matter just as a Baptist believes. "During the three first centuries, christian congregations all over the east subsisted in separate, independent bodies, unsupported by government, and consequently without any secular power over one another. All this time they were Baptist churches, and though all the fathers of the four first ages down to Jerome were of Greece, Syria, and Africa, and though they gave great numbers of histories of the baptism of adults, yet there is not one record of the baptism of a child till the year 370, when Galates, the dying son of the emperour Valens, was baptized by order of a monarch, who swore he would not be contradicted. The age of the prince is uncertain, and the assigning of his illness as the cause of his baptism indicates clearly enough that infant baptism was not in practice."

But the primitive Baptist churches, in process of time, became corrupted with many errours, and with infant baptism among the rest. And when Constantine established christianity as the religion of his empire, errours, which before had taken root, soon grew up to maturity, the christian church as established by law became a worldly sanctury, and those who would maintain the gospel in its purity were obliged to separate from the great mass of professors, and retire to the best refuges they could find. We have shown in the Review of Ecclesiastical History, that the church of Rome and the Greek church have ever comprehended the great majority of those, who have borne the christian name. But from these two extensive establishments multitudes have dissented. The dissenters have been of every possible description and character, and it may be truly said of every religious absurdity and fantastical opinion, that there is nothing new under the sun, for they have all been broached and maintained in former times. All dissenters were denounced hereticks, and in many

cases the name was not misapplied; but on the other hand it is certain, that for many centuries we must search among reputed hereticks, for what little of godliness remained on the earth.

The great Waldensian body now demands our attention, and in giving their history we shall comprehend that of most of the other Baptist dissenters in the dark ages of popery, for they all appear to have been in some measure connected with it.

The *Waldenses* are, by all parties of Protestants, considered to have been witnesses for the truth, through all the dark reign of superstition and error. And the Waldensian heresy, was by the Catholicks counted the oldest in the world and the most formidable to the church of Rome. These people, for a number of centuries, had their chief residence in the vallies of Piedmont, and from thence, in process of time, they spread over most of the countries of Europe.

Piedmont is a principality of Italy, 175 miles long and 40 broad, bounded north by Vallais, east by Milan and Montferrat, South by Nice and Genoa, west by France and Savoy. This country was formerly a part of Lombardy, afterwards it was subject to the king of Sardinia, but in 1800 it was conquered by France. Piedmont lies at the foot of the Alps, and contains many high mountains, among which are rich and fruitful vallies, as populous as any part of Italy. Turin is the capital. But we must distinguish between the principality of Piedmont and the vallies which were famous for the Waldenses, between the common inhabitants and the established religion of the country, and the faithful witnesses for the truth which resided here from time immemorial.

The church of Rome is the established religion of the principality of Piedmont, and has been from early times; but several causes contributed to render the establishment, for many centuries, more mild and less troublesome to dissenters, here, than in other parts of the papal dominions. The bishop of Turin, the capital of Piedmont, was not a Metropolitan, till 1515. No bishops before were subject to him. At present there are in the principality of Piedmont, eight bishopricks. Of these only three are suffragan to the archbishoprick of Turin. One of them was not erected into an episcopal see till the year 1388, nor another till 1592, and one hath only seven parishes in it. Three of the remaining five are subject to the arch-

bishop of Milan; one is an exempt, and subject only to the pope, and the other is united to another province. This is the modern arrangement; but in the middle ages, what few bishops there were, considered themselves in the province of Milan, and subject to the archbishop; but as their bishopricks were in different States, none of which suffered the incumbents to exercise temporal dominion, except in particular cases on their own lordships, and generally not there, it is easy to infer that episcopacy in Piedmont was not materially injurious to the liberties of the people.

Under these circumstances the Waldenses enjoyed a degree of repose, and maintained the pure worship of God, in the remote ages of idolatry and superstition.

It is supposed by President Edwards that the ancient Waldenses dwelt mostly in five vallies on the southern side of the Alps, which were begirt around with high and almost impassable hills, and if any local residence is intended in the twelfth chapter of Revelation, this mountainous retreat promises most of all others to be the one.

But it is evident these people dwelt in many other vallies, on both sides of the Alps, in France and Italy, and were dispersed in many places in all the surrounding country. But the cruel inquisitors at length found their way to the happy asylums of these faithful witnesses, multitudes were slain, and others were dispersed in almost all the European kingdoms.

It will be proper, before we proceed any further, to give some account of the beginning of the Waldenses, and of the manner in which they received their name. And respecting the origin of this body of christians, two leading sentiments have prevailed. The papists date their origin in the twelfth century, under the famous reformer Peter Waldo. With this account Moshiem and some others seem to agree. The papists are interested in disputing the antiquity of the Waldensian sect, and dating its origin as late as possible; for if they can prove that they had no existence until the twelfth century, they thence infer that the church of Rome prevailed universally from the early ages up to that time. But Protestants generally of all classes contend that the Waldenses are of much higher antiquity than the time of Peter Waldo of Lyons; but they are not all agreed respecting the time and circumstances of their origin.

Robinson and Milner consider Claude, bishop of Turin, the founder of the sect of the Waldenses. The former calls him the Wickliff of Turin, and the latter the christian hero of the ninth century. This famous reformer was a native of Spain. He was chaplain to the emperor Lewis the Meek, who preferred him to the bishoprick of Turin, where he distinguished himself by his zeal against images, relicks, pilgrimages, and crosses, all of which abounded in his diocess. Three or four French monks wrote against him as a blasphemer and a heretick; and his own people were so refractory that he went in fear of his life. He bore a noble testimony against the prevailing errors of his time, and was undoubtedly a most respectable character. He was alive in the year 839. He denied the supremacy of the bishop of Rome; but it is also said that he expressed a great respect for catholicism, and opposed schism and heresy with all his might.* Thus far the history of Claude of Turin appears plain; but respecting the effects of his ministry in Turin and other parts of Piedmont different opinions are entertained. But it appears evident he was a man of evangelical zeal; that he was the means of promoting the cause of the dissenters in Piedmont, while he himself remained in the establishment; that he laid down principles in his preaching, which he did not carry through in his practice, a thing very common for reformers of his character; that his disciples reasoned consequentially on the principles of their master, and after his death, if not before, renounced the communion of the church of Rome, together with all the pompous and superstitious appendages with which it was surrounded. But I cannot think that Claude of Turin was the founder of the sect of the Waldenses. They doubtless profited by his ministry, and received great accessions from his converts; but from the suggestions of both enemies and friends, I must believe that there was a body of christians in the vallies of Piedmont and in the recesses of the Alps, of the same character of the Waldenses, long before the time of Claude.

Dr. Allix, in his history of the churches of Piedmont, gives this account of the origin of the Waldenses; That for three hundred years or more, the bishop of Rome attempted to subjugate the church of Milan under his jurisdiction; and at last the interest of Rome grew too potent

* Robinson's Ecc. Res. p. 447—8.

for the church of Milan, planted by one of the disciples; insomuch, that the bishop and the people, rather than own their jurisdiction, retired to the vallies of Lucern and Angrogene; and thence were called Vallenses, Wallenses, or the People of the Vallies.*

President Edwards, as quoted by Mr. Merrill in his Miniature History of the Baptists, has the following observations respecting these ancient witnessses for the truth: "It is supposed that these people first betook themselves to this desert, secret place among the mountains, to hide themselves from the severity of the heathen persecutions, which were before Constantine the great, and thus the woman fled into the wilderness from the face of the serpent, as related in Revelation," &c.

Cranz, in his history of the United Brethren, as quoted by Ivimey, has the following statement respecting the origin of the Waldenses. "These ancient christians, (who besides the several names of reproach given them, were at length denominated Waldenses, from one of the most eminent teachers, Peter Waldus, who is said to have emigrated with the rest from France into Bohemia, and there to have died) date their origin from the beginning of the fourth century; when one Leo, in the great revolution in religion under Constantine the great, opposed the innovations of Sylvester, bishop of Rome," &c.†

The cruel Reinerus, who spent much time in examining these people, observes, that "some aver their existence from the days of Sylvester,‡ and others from the very time of the Apostles." This account the inquisitor seems to have taken from the Waldenses themselves, and it appears highly probable, that it is in substance correct. Their doctrine had existed from the time of the Apostles, and they, as a body, had probably existed from the time of Sylvester, when the church sunk into superstition and formality, and the pious retired from the pompous parade of a worldly minded throng.

I might quote concurring testimonies of the high antiquity of the Waldensian christians. Some popish writers

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* See Alix's History of the churches in Piedmont, and Perrin's History of the Waldenses, as quoted by Hannah Adams, in her View of Religion, p. 304.

† Ivimey, p. 57.

‡ The Sylvester, whose name thus frequently occurs, was the bishop of Rome in the time of Constantine, and the one, who, the Catholicks contend, baptized the emperour.

own that they never submitted to the church of Rome, and all acknowledge, that all her cruel laws and persecuting measures, could never extirpate them.

The beforementioned inquisitor pretends, that there had been more than seventy sects of hereticks, of which, through the grace of God, all were extinct, except four, Manicheans, Arians, Runcarians, and Leonists, or the poor men of Lyons, another name of the Waldenses.

From all we can learn it appears, that the recesses of the Alps and the Pyrenees, together with the adjoining hills and vallies in France, Spain, and Italy, were distinguished retreats of the faithful friends of God, in the darkest ages of the christian world. Mr. Robinson with his usual singularity, observes, "that Greece was the parent, Spain and Navarre the nurses, France the step-mother, and Savoy the jailer of this class of Christians, called Waldenses."*

The Waldenses received their name either from the vallies which they inhabited, or from Peter Waldo or Valdus, of Lyons, in France. From the Latin *vallis*, came the English *valley*, the French and Spanish *valle*, the Italian *valdesi*, and the low Dutch *valleye*. The word for *valley* in the language of Piedmont is *vaux*, and the inhabitants of vallies were hence called *vaudois*, the name which the people now in question gave themselves. But English and Latin writers used the term *Vallenses*, instead of *vaudois*, which was, in process of time, changed into *Valdenses*, and then into *Waldenses*, which last term, all at present agree to use. This account of the origin of the name Waldenses is highly probable, and would seem to admit of no dispute, were it not for Peter Waldo, a famous reformer of the twelfth century. This eminent man was a wealthy merchant of Lyons, in France, who, upon his embracing the truth, quitted his mercantile employment, distributed his wealth among the poor, procured a translation of the Scriptures in the French language, became a zealous and successful preacher of the gospel, had many disciples and followers, who formed religious assemblies first in France and afterwards in Lombardy, and in a short time throughout the other provinces of Europe. His followers were sometimes called Leonists, or the poor men of Lyons, but generally they were denominated Wal-

* Robinson's Res. p. 320.—Piedmont was, for a long time, subject to the dukes of Savoy.

denses. And Mosheim asserts that the whole sect of the Waldenses received their name from Waldo. But Dr. Maclaine, his translator, asserts the contrary, and contends that Waldo derived his name from the true Valdenses or Waldenses of Piedmont.

But leaving the dispute about the manner in which the Waldenses received their name, it is certain that they had existed as a distinct and peculiar people, many ages before Waldo, that his numerous followers united with them in promoting the cause of godliness, that they all, together with all others of their character, were henceforward denominated Waldenses; and that besides the name of Waldenses, they had many more which were taken from their peculiar sentiments, their habitations, their circumstances, their connexions, their teachers, their own infirmities, or the inventive malice of their enemies.*

Bruno and Berengarius, Peter de Bruis, and Henry his disciple, Arnold of Briscia, Peter Waldo, and Walter Lollard, seem to have been among the principal leaders of the Waldenses in ancient times. They all had numerous followers, who, according to the custom of the times, were called after the names of their leaders. We have the testimony of Mosheim, Robinson, and others, that the papists comprehended all the adversaries of the pope and the superstitions of Rome, under the general name of Waldenses. The Albigenses or Albienses, a large branch of this sect, were so denominated from the town of Albi, in France, where the Waldenses flourished.† The term Cathari or Puritans, was also frequently applied to the Waldensian christians, as it was to evangelical dissenters in other countries. Whenever, therefore, in the following sketches, the terms Berengarians, Petrobrusians, Henricians, Arnoldists, Waldenses, Albigenses, Leonists, or the poor men of Lyons, Lollards, Cathari, &c. occur, it must be understood that they intend a people, who agreed in certain leading principles, however they might differ in some smaller matters, and that all of them were by the Catholicks comprehended under the general name of Waldenses.

Most of our information respecting the character of the Waldenses must be taken from the accounts of their enemies, and therefore every favourable hint concerning

* Robinson's Researches, p. 307.

† Milner's Church History, vol. III. p. 455.

them will be the more likely to be true. I have not been able to obtain Moreland's and Alix's histories of the Waldenses; I must therefore avail myself of the labours of those who have consulted them, and shall, for the present, quote mostly from the third volume of Milner's Church History, and Ivimey's History of the English Baptists. These writers appear to have consulted with much attention all the records which shed any light on the history of this ancient people of God.

Evervinus of Stienfield, in the diocess of Cologne, wrote to Bernard, a little before the year 1140, a letter preserved by Mabillon, concerning certain hereticks in his neighbourhood. He was perplexed in his mind concerning them, and wrote for a resolution of his doubts to the renowned abbot, whose word was a law at that time in christendom. Some extracts of this letter are as follows. "There have been some hereticks discovered among us near Cologne, though several of them have, with satisfaction, returned again to the church. One of their bishops and his companions openly opposed us in the assembly of the clergy and laity, in the presence of the archbishop of Cologne, and of many of the nobility, defending their heresies by the words of Christ and the apostles. Finding that they made no impression, they desired that a day might be appointed for them, in which they might bring their teachers to a conference, promising to return to the church, provided they found their masters unable to answer the arguments of their opponents, but that otherwise they would rather die, than depart from their judgment. Upon this declaration, having been admonished to repent for three days, they were seized by the people in the excess of zeal and burnt to death; and what is very amazing, they came to the stake, and bare the pain, not only with patience, but even with joy. Were I with you, Father, I should be glad to ask you, how these members of Satan could persist in their heresy with such courage and constancy, as is scarce to be found in the most religious believers of christianity. Their heresy is this: they say, that the church is only among themselves, because they alone of all men follow the steps of Christ, and imitate the apostles, not seeking secular gains, possessing no property, following the pattern of Christ, who was himself perfectly poor, and did not allow his disciples to possess any thing. Ye, (say they to us) join house to house and field to field, seeking the things of this world; so that

even those who are looked on as most perfect among you, namely those of the monastick orders, though they have no private property, but have a community of possessions, do yet possess these things. Of themselves they say, we, the poor of Christ, who have no certain abode, fleeing from one city to another, like sheep in the midst of wolves, do endure persecution with the apostles and martyrs; though our lives are strict, abstemious, laborious, devout, and holy, and though we seek only what is necessary for the support of the body, and live as men who are not of the world. They do not believe infant baptism to be a duty, alleging that passage of the gospel, *whosoever shall believe, and be baptized, shall be saved.* They put no confidence in the intercession of saints, and all things observed in the church, which have not been established by Christ himself or his apostles, they call superstitious. They do not admit of any purgatory after death; but affirm, that as soon as the souls depart out of the bodies, they enter into rest or punishment, proving their assertion from that passage of Solomon, which way soever the tree falls, whether to the south or to the north, there it lies, whence they make void all the prayers and oblations of believers for the deceased. Those of them, who have returned to our church, told us that great numbers of their persuasion was scattered almost every where, and that among them were many of our clergy and monks."

St. Bernard, the furious adversary of the Waldenses, amidst all his railing accusations against them, has given them a character much better than christians in general have given him. He condemns their scrupulous refusal to swear at all, which, according to him, was one of their peculiarities. He upbraids them with the observance of secrecy in their religious rites, not considering the necessity which persecution laid upon them. He finds fault with a practice among them of dwelling with women in the same house without being married to them; though it must be owned, he expresses himself as one, who knew very little of the manners of the sect. From the strength of prejudice, and from the numberless rumours propagated against them, he suspects them of hypocrisy; yet his testimony in favour of their general conduct seems to overbalance all his invectives. "If, (says he) you ask them of their faith, nothing can be more christian; if you observe their conversation, nothing can be more blameless; and what they speak they prove by deeds. You

may see a man for the testimony of his faith, frequent the church, honour the elders, offer his gift, make his confession, receive the sacrament; what more like a christian? As to life and manners, he circumvents no man, overreaches no man, and does no violence to any. He fasts much, he eats not the bread of idleness, he works with his hands for his support. The whole body, indeed, are rustic and illiterate; and all whom I have known of this sect are very ignorant."

Egbert, a monk, and afterwards abbot of Schonauge, tells us, that he had often disputed with these hereticks, and says, "These are they who are commonly called Cathari or Puritans. They are armed with all those passages of holy scripture, which in any degree seem to favour their views; with these they know how to defend themselves, and to oppose the catholick truth, though they mistake entirely the true sense of scripture, which cannot be discovered without great judgment. They are increased to great multitudes throughout all countries, their words spread like a cancer. In Germany we call them Cathari; in Flanders, they call them Piphles; in France, Tisserands,* because many of them are of that occupation."

"It appears," says Milner, "that their numbers were very considerable in this century (the twelfth;) but Cologne, Flanders, the South of France, Savoy, and Milan, were their principal places of residence."

This people, says the same writer, continued in a state of extreme persecution throughout this century. Galdinus, bishop of Milan, who had inveighed against them during the eight or nine years of his episcopacy, died in the year 1173, by an illness contracted through the excess of his vehemence in preaching against them.

Reinerus, an apostate and persecutor of the Waldenses in the thirteenth century, writes, that amongst all sects none is more pernicious than that of the *Poor of Lyons*, for three reasons: 1st. Because it is the most ancient. Some aver their existence from the days of Sylvester; others from the very time of the apostles. 2d. Because it is so universal; for there is scarcely a country into which this sect has not crept. 3d. Because all others render themselves detestable by their blasphemies; but this has a great appearance of godliness, they living a

* That is, *weavers*.

righteous life before men, believing right concerning God, confessing all the articles of the creed, only hating the pope of Rome, &c.

The same inquisitor owns that the Waldenses frequently read the Holy Scriptures, and in their preaching cited the words of Christ and his apostles concerning love, humility and other virtues; insomuch that the women who heard them were enraptured with the sound. He further says, that they taught men to live by the words of the gospel and the apostles; that they led religious lives; that their manners were seasoned with grace, and their words prudent; that they freely discoursed of divine things, that they might be esteemed good men. He observes, likewise, that they taught their children and families the epistles and gospels.

Jacob de Riberia says, that he had seen peasants among them, who could recite the book of Job by heart; and several others, who could perfectly repeat the whole New Testament.

The bishop of Cavaillon once obliged a preaching monk to enter into conference with them, that they might be convinced of their errors, and the effusion of blood be prevented. This happened during a great persecution in 1540, in Merindal and Provence. But the monk returned in confusion, owning that he had never known in his whole life so much of the Scriptures as he had learned during those few days in which he had held conferences with the hereticks. The bishop, however, sent among them a number of doctors, young men, who had lately come from the Sorbonne, which was at that time the very centre of theological subtilty at Paris. One of them openly owned, that he had understood more of the doctrine of salvation from the answers of the little children in their catechism, than by all the disputations, which he had ever heard.

Hereticks, an ancient inquisitor observes, are known by their manners and words; for they are orderly and modest in their manners and behaviour. They avoid all appearance of pride in their dress; they neither wear rich clothes, nor are they too mean and ragged in their attire. They avoid commerce, that they may be free from falsehood and deceit. They live by manual industry, as day-labourers or mechanicks, and their preachers are weavers and tailors. They seek not to amass wealth, but are content with the necessaries of life. They are

chaste, temperate, and sober. They abstain from anger. They hypocritically go to the church, confess, communicate, and hear sermons, to catch the preacher in his words. Their women are modest, avoid slander, foolish jesting, levity of words, especially falsehood and oaths.

But notwithstanding the enemies of these ancient saints made so many reluctant acknowledgements of their worth; yet they looked upon them as vile hereticks, fit objects for ecclesiastical vengeance, and the more pious and devout they were, the more dangerous they became to the church of Rome, whose abominations they opposed.

The Waldenses rejected the whole economy of the priesthood, and laughed at the distinctions between the clergy and laity; yet they had pastors whom they called Barbs, which is a contraction of Barbanus, and signifies first, an uncle, and then it was used figuratively for father, guardian, tutor, &c.

The Waldenses were often accused of worshipping their pastors or barbs; a charge which they easily refuted. They were at the same time complained of for obliging them to follow some trade. "We do not think it necessary, (said they) that our pastors should work for bread. They might be better qualified to instruct us, if we could maintain them without their own labour; but our poverty has no remedy." So they speak in letters published in 1508.*

Nothing, says Milner, can exceed the calumnies which were cast on these innocent people. Poor men of Lyons, and dogs, were the usual terms of derision. In Provence they were called cut-purses; in Italy, because they observed not the appointed festivals, and rested from their ordinary occupations only on Sundays, they were called insabathas, that is, regardless of sabbaths. In Germany, they were called gazares, a term expressive of every thing flagitiously wicked. In Flanders they were denominated turlupins, that is, inhabitants with wolves, because they were often obliged to dwell in woods and deserts. And because they denied the consecrated host to be God, they were accused of Arianism, as if they had denied the divinity of Jesus Christ.

Rapin, in relating the transactions of the councils of Henry II. gives the following account of these people: "Henry ordered a council to meet at Oxford in 1166, to

* Milner, vol. iii. p. 428.

examine the tenets of certain hereticks, called Publicani. Very probably they were disciples of the Waldenses, who began then to appear. When they were asked in council, who they were? they answered they were christians, and followers of the apostles. After that, being questioned upon the creed, their replies were very orthodox as to the trinity and incarnation. But (adds Rapin) they rejected baptism, the eucharist, marriage, and the communion of saints. They shewed a great deal of modesty and meekness in their whole behaviour. When they were threatened with death, in order to oblige them to renounce their tenets, they only said, *Blessed are they that suffer for righteousness' sake.*"

There is no difficulty, Mr. Ivimey judiciously observes, in understanding what were their sentiments on these heretical points. When a monk says, they rejected the eucharist, it is to be understood that they rejected the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation; when he says, that they rejected marriage, he means, that they denied it to be a sacrament, and maintained it to be a civil institution; when he says, that they rejected the communion of saints, nothing more is to be understood, than that they refused to hold communion with the corrupt church of Rome; and when he says, that they rejected baptism, what are we to understand but that they rejected the baptism of infants? These were the errors for which they were branded with a hot iron in their foreheads, by those who had "the mark of the beast, both in their foreheads and in their hands."*

We can give but a very brief account of the persecutions which the Waldenses suffered, and of the success which attended their exertions. They underwent the most dreadful persecutions; and every means which malice and cruelty could invent, was used to exterminate them and their principles from the earth. The crusade against them consisted of five hundred thousand men. More than three hundred gentlemen's seats were razed, and many walled towns destroyed.†

The subjects of Raymond, earl of Toulouse, and of some other great personages in his neighbourhood, so generally professed the Waldensian doctrines, that they became the peculiar objects of papal vengeance. The inhabitants of Toulouse, Carcassone, Beziers, Narbonne, Avignon, and many other cities, who were commonly

* Ivimy, p. 56—7. † Ibid, p. 55.

called the Albigenses, were exposed to a persecution as cruel and atrocious as any recorded in history. Rainerus indeed owns, that the Waldenses were the most formidable enemies of the church of Rome, "because," saith he, "they have a great appearance of godliness; because they live righteously before men, believe rightly of God in all things, and hold all the articles of the creed; yet they hate and revile the church of Rome; and in their accusations they are easily believed by the people."

It was reserved to Innocent III. than whom no pope ever possessed more ambition, to institute the inquisition, and the Waldenses were the first objects of its cruelty. He authorized certain monks to frame the process of that court, and to deliver the supposed hereticks to the secular power. The beginning of the thirteenth century saw thousands of persons burned or hanged by these diabolical devices, whose sole crime was, that they trusted only in Jesus Christ for salvation, and renounced all the vain hopes of self-righteous idolatry and superstition.

About the year 1400, the persecutors attacked the Waldenses of the valley of Pragela. The poor people seeing their caves possessed by their enemies, who assaulted them during the severity of the winter, retreated to one of the highest mountains of the Alps, the mothers carrying cradles, and leading by the hand those little children, who were able to walk. Many of them were murdered, others were starved to death, a hundred and eighty children were found dead in their cradles, and the greatest part of their mothers died soon after them. In the valley of Loyse, four hundred little children were found suffocated in their cradles, or in the arms of their deceased mothers, in consequence of a great quantity of wood being placed at the entrance of the caves and set on fire. On the whole, above three thousand persons belonging to the valley were destroyed, and this righteous people were in that place exterminated. The Waldenses of Pragela and Fraissiniere, alarmed by these sanguinary proceedings, made provision for their own safety, and expected the enemy at the passage and narrow straits of their vallies, and were in fact so well prepared to receive them, that the invaders were obliged to retreat. Some attempts were made afterwards by the Waldenses of Fraissiniere to regain their property, which had been unjustly seized by their persecutors. The favour of Lewis XII. of France was exerted towards them; yet they could never obtain any remedy.

The princes of Piedmont, who were the dukes of Savoy, were very unwilling to disturb their subjects, of whose loyalty, peaceableness, industry, and probity, they received such uniform testimony. A fact, which seemed peculiarly to demonstrate their general innocence, must be noticed. Their neighbours particularly prized a Piedmontese servant, and preferred the women of the vallies above all others, to nurse their children. Calumny, however, prevailed at length, and such a number of accusations against them appeared, charging them with crimes of the most monstrous nature, that the civil power permitted the papal to indulge its thirst for blood. Dreadful cruelties were inflicted on the people of God; and these, by their constancy, revived the memory of the primitive martyrs. Among them Catelin Girard was distinguished, who, standing on the block, on which he was to be burned at Revel, in the marquisate of Saluces, requested his executioners to give him two stones; which request being with difficulty obtained, the martyr holding them in his hands, said, "when I have eaten these stones, then you shall see an end of that religion for which ye put me to death," and then he cast the stones on the ground.

But our limits forbid our pursuing any farther an account of the sufferings of these people. It is sufficient to observe, that their enemies were far from accomplishing their designs. Archbishop Asher observes, that as the persecution about Stephen proved for the furtherance of the gospel in other parts of the world, so was it here. Insomuch that Æneas Sylvius, afterwards pope Pius II. confessed, that neither the decrees of popes, no armies of christians, could extirpate the Waldensian sect.

Various accounts mention their dispersion abroad, and the papists complain much of their infesting most parts of their dominions and disturbing the peace of the church.

We learn from Fox, on the authority of Robert Guisborne, that in the time of Henry II. about the year 1158, two eminent Waldensian preachers or bards, Gerhardrus and Dulcinus, came into England to propagate the gospel; and archbishop Usher, from Thomas Walden, says, that "several Waldenses, that came out of France, were apprehended, and by the king's command were marked in the forehead with a key or hot iron." "Which sect (says William of Newbury, in his history of England) were called the Publicani, whose original was from Gascoyne; and who, being as numerous as the sand of the sea, did sorely infest both France, Italy, Spain, and England."

Archbishop Usher informs us on the authority of Matthew Paris of Westminster, that "the Berengarian or Waldensian heresy had, about the year 1180, generally infected all France, Italy, and England." Guitmond, a popish writer of that time, also says, that "not only the weaker sort in the country villages; but the nobility and gentry in the chief towns and cities, were infected therewith; and therefore Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, who held this see both in the reigns of William the Conqueror and of his son William Rufus, wrote against them in the year 1087." The archbishop adds, from Poplinus' history of France, that "the Waldenses of Aquitain did, about the year 1100, during the reigns of Henry I, and Stephen, kings of England, spread themselves and their doctrines all over Europe," and mentions England in particular.*

From the recesses of the Alps and Pyrenees, and the adjoining vallies, these people were driven out by heretick hunters, and were obliged to seek refuge in other countries. Wherever they went, light increased and persecution raged. The word of God, says Milner, grew and multiplied, in the places where Waldo planted churches, and even in still more distant regions. In Alsace and along the Rhine, the gospel was preached with a powerful effusion of the Holy Spirit; persecutions ensued, and thirty-five citizens of Mentz were burned at one fire in the city of Bingen, and at Mentz eighteen. The bishop of Mentz was very active in these persecutions, and the bishop of Strasburg was not inferior to him in vindictive zeal; for, through his means, eighty persons were burned at Strasburg. Every thing relating to the Waldenses resembled the scenes of the primitive church. Numbers died praising God, and in confident assurance of a blessed resurrection; whence the blood of the martyrs again became the seed of the church; and in Bulgaria, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Hungary, churches were planted, which flourished in the thirteenth century, governed by Bartholomew, a native of Carcassone, a city not far distant from Toulouse, which might be called in those days the metropolis of the Waldenses, on account of the numbers who there professed evangelical truth. In Bohemia in the country of Passaw, the churches were reckoned to have contained eighty thousand professors in the former part of the fourteenth century. Almost

* Ivimey, p. 55, 56.

throughout Europe Waldenses were to be found; and yet they were treated as the offscouring of the earth, and as people against whom all the power and wisdom of the world were united. But "the witnesses continued to prophesy in sackcloth," and souls were built up in the faith, the hope, and the charity of the gospel.

"From the borders of Spain, (says the same writer) throughout the south of France, for the most part among and below the Alps, along the Rhine, on both sides of its course, and even to Bohemia, thousands of godly souls were seen patiently to bear persecution for the sake of Christ, against whom malice could say no evil, but what admits the most satisfactory refutation; men distinguished for every virtue, and only hated because of godliness itself. Persecutors with a sigh owned, that, because of their virtue, they were the most dangerous enemies of the church."

One quotation more from Mr. Milner shall close this part of the narration. From the year 1206, when the inquisition was first established, to the year 1228, the havock made among helpless christians was so great, that certain French bishops, in the last mentioned year, desired the monks of the inquisition to defer a little their work of imprisonment, till the pope was advertised of the great numbers apprehended; numbers so great, that it was impossible to defray the charge of their subsistence, and even to provide stone and mortar to build prisons for them. Yet so true is it that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church, that in the year 1530, there were in Europe above eight hundred thousand who professed the religion of the Waldenses.

It is proper that we should now take notice of some of the evidences on which we ground our opinion, that many, if not most of the Waldenses, were Baptists. We have already seen that one of the grievous sins, which their enemies laid to their charge, was denying *infant baptism*. We shall exhibit in one view, the substance of what can be gathered from different historians on this subject.

Chessanion, in his history of the Albigenses, has given us the following very candid account of this matter. "Some writers (he says) affirm, that the Albigenses approved and who called the baptism of infants; others, that they entirely sorely infe- rejected this holy sacrament, as if it were of no use either or small. The same may be said of the Walden-

ses, though some affirm that they have always baptized their children. This difference of authors kept me sometime in suspense before I could come to be resolved on which side the truth lay. At last considering what St. Bernard saith of this matter in his sixty-sixth homily, on the 2d chapter of the Song of Songs, and the reasons he brings to refute this error, and also what he wrote *ad Hildefonsum Comitem sancti Ægidii*, I cannot deny but the Albigenses, for the greatest part, were of this opinion. And that which confirms me yet more in this belief is, that in the history of the city of Treves, there were some, who denied that the sacrament of baptism was available to the salvation of infants ; and one Catherine Saube, who was burnt at Montpelier, in the year 1417, for being of the mind of the Albigenses in not believing the traditions of the Romish church, was of the same mind respecting infant baptism ; as it is recorded in the register of the town-house of the said city of Montpelier. The truth is, (continues Chessanion) they did not reject the sacrament and say it was useless, but only counted it unnecessary to infants, because they are not of age to believe, nor capable of giving evidence of their faith. That which induced them, as I suppose, to entertain this opinion is, what our Lord says, *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved ; but he that believeth not shall be damned.*"

This statement is in part at least corroborated by Dr. Wall in his History of Infant Baptism; and as he was desirous of establishing the contrary opinion, his concessions in our favour are certainly of weight. Speaking of the Petrobrussians whom he calls a sect of the Waldenses, he says, "withdrawing themselves about the year 1100, from the communion of the church of Rome, which was then very corrupt, they did reckon infant baptism as one of the corruptions, and accordingly renounced it, and practised only adult baptism." Part II. Chap. vii. Section 5, 6, 7.

Mosheim, in his Ecclesiastical History, speaking of Peter de Bruis, who was a celebrated itinerant preacher, and who was burnt to death by an enraged populace at St. Giles, in the year 1130, says, "It is certain that one of his tenets was, *that no persons whatever were to be baptized before they were come to the full use of reason.*"

The testimony of Mr. Brandt, respecting the antiquity of these churches and of their sentiments respecting baptism is of importance to our argument. He says, "that the

errors and crafty inventions of popery had never been able to find a passage to these people; since being shut up in their vallies, separate from the rest of the world, and conversing chiefly among themselves, they had retained a great deal of the simplicity and purity of the *Apostolic Doctrine:* That this antiquity of the doctrine of the Waldenses, is acknowledged even by their greatest enemies.—Some of them likewise rejected infant baptism."

To corroborate this last clause many things are produced by Dr. Allix in his remarks on the ancient churches of Piedmont. "The followers of Gundulphus in Italy were many of them examined by Gerhard, bishop of Cambray and Arras, upon several heads in the year 1025. It seems as if these people were surfeited with the vicious and debauched lives of the Romish clergy, and did rather choose to go without any baptism, rather than have it administered by such lewd hands, or that they had agreed to have it performed privately in their own way. Let things have been as it would, it is plain they were utterly against infant baptism."

In a little time after this, lived the noted Arnold of Brecia, a follower of Berengarius, who eminently opposed the Romish corruptions. And amongst some notions imputed to him, it is observed, "there was yet a more heinous thing laid to his charge, which was this; that he was unsound in his judgment about the sacrament of the altar and infant baptism." This excellent man was condemned, hanged, and his body burnt at Rome, and the ashes cast into the Tiber. But there is a letter of Everinus to St. Bernard, a little before the year 1146, wherein he speaks clearly of a sect which approved of *adult baptism upon believing*, and strenuously opposed *infant baptism*. The words of the letter are, "They make void the priesthood of the church, and condemn the sacraments besides *baptism* only, and this only in those who were come to *age*, who, they say, are baptized by Christ himself, whosoever be the ministers of the sacraments. They do not believe *infant baptism*, alleging that place of the gospel, *whosoever shall believe and be baptized, shall be saved*."

The same learned gentleman gives us an extract taken by Claudius Caissord in the year 1548, out of an old manuscript of Rainerus, a friar, wrote by him 296 years before, against the Waldenses, wherein he has these words, "They say, that when first a man is baptized, then he is

received into this *sect*. Some of them hold, that baptism is of no advantage to infants, because they cannot actually believe."*

Dr. Wall allows, that the Lateran council under Innocent II. 1139, condemned Peter Bruis and Arnold of Brescia, who seems to have been a follower of Bruis, for rejecting infant Baptism.†

Bishop Bossuet, a Catholic, complaining of Calvin's party, for claiming apostolical succession through the Waldenses, observes, "You adopt Henry and Peter Bruis among your predecessors, but both of these, every body knows, were Anabaptists."

"The Waldenses," says Francowitz, "scent a little of Anabaptism; but they were nothing like the Anabaptists of our times." "Yes," replies Limborch, "to say honestly what I think, of all the modern sects of christians, the Dutch Baptists most resemble both the Albigenses and the Waldenses, but particularly the latter."‡

The following passage from Robinson, though somewhat lengthy, I will take the liberty to transcribe, as it must be gratifying to the reader, to hear what an account a sulky enemy could give of one of these ancient christians: Reinerus thus describes the manner in which the Waldenses insinuated their principles into the gentry: "Sir, will you please to buy any rings, or seals, or trinkets? Madam, will you look at any handkerchiefs, or pieces of needle-work for veils? I can afford them cheap." If, after a purchase, the company ask, "Have you any thing more?" The sale's man would reply, "O yes, I have commodities far more valuable than these, and I will make you a present of them, if you will protect me from the clergy." Security being promised, on he would go: "The inestimable jewel I spoke of is the word of God, by which he communicates his mind to men, and which inflames their hearts with love to him. In the sixth month the angel Gabriel was sent from God into a city of Galilee named Nazareth;" and so he would proceed to repeat the remaining part of the first chapter of Luke. Or he would begin with the thirteenth of John, and repeat the last discourse of Jesus to his disciples. If the company should seem pleased, he would proceed to repeat the twenty-third of Matthew, "The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat....Wo unto you, ye shut up the king-

* Ivimey, pp. 60, 61, 62, 63, 64. † Ibid, p. 25.
‡ Robinson's Researches, p. 476. Ibid. p. 311.

dom of heaven against men; for ye neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in.... Wo unto you, ye devour widows' houses"...." And pray," should one of the company say, "against whom are these woes denounced think you?" he would reply, "Against the clergy and the monks. The doctors of the Roman church are pompous, both in their habits and their manners; they love the uppermost rooms, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and to be called Rabbi, Rabbi. For our parts, we desire no such Rabbies. They are incontinent; we live each in chastity with his own wife. They are the rich and avaricious, of whom the Lord says, "Wo unto you rich, for ye have received your consolation;" but we, "having food and raiment, are therewith content." They are voluptuous and devour widow's houses; we only eat to be refreshed and supported. They fight and encourage war, and command the poor to be killed and burnt, in defiance of the saying, "he that taketh the sword shall perish by the sword." For our parts, they persecute us for righteousness' sake. They do nothing, they eat the bread of idleness; we work with our hands. They monopolize the giving of instruction, and "wo be to them that take away the key of knowledge;" but among us women teach as well as men, and one disciple as soon as he is informed himself teaches another. Among them you can hardly find a doctor, who can repeat three chapters of the New Testament by heart; but of us there is hardly man or woman, who doth not retain the whole. And because we are sincere believers in Christ, and all teach and enforce a holy life and conversation, these scribes and Pharisees persecute us to death, as their predecessors did Jesus Christ." Father Gretzer, the first editor of the complete book of Rainerus, has put in the margin against the above, these words: "This is a true picture of the hereticks of our age, particularly Anabaptists." Happy for the Anabaptists, indeed, (says Robinson) if they can affirm all that with truth of themselves, which the old Waldensian preaching pedlar affirmed of himself and his company."

To recapitulate the sum of the preceding extracts, we find that the Waldenses, by whatever name they were called, were constantly, for the space of many centuries, charged with the henious crime of denying infant baptism, and that the reasons which they gave for so doing, as taken from the mouths of their enemies, were many of them

verbatim, and all of them in substance, just such as the Baptists now give. Have not then the Baptists good reasons for believing that the Waldenses were generally of their sentiments?

I admire the piety of Mr. Milner, and every evangelical christian has reason to respect his memory; and to his laborious researches, I am indebted for many of the preceding sketches respecting these ancient witnesses for the truth; but in his account of their baptism, his prepossessions in favour of the rites of his own church, lead him to state the matter in a manner peculiarly vague and unfair. He seems much at a loss to know how to support his own theory, and satisfy his own mind. But he at length concludes, "I cannot find any satisfactory proofs that the Waldenses were, in judgment, Antipedobaptists strictly!" But soon after, as if dissatisfied with this statement, he observes, "I lay no great stress on the subject, for the Waldenses might have been a faithful, humble, and spiritual people, as I believe they were, if they had *differed* from the general body of christians on *this article*."* Thus he at last reluctantly gives up the matter in favour of the Baptists.

But Dr. Mosheim, notwithstanding all the hard names which he has bestowed on the Baptists, has, in the following passages, put this matter beyond all doubt or disputation. "The true origin," says he, "of that sect which acquired the denomination of the *Anabaptists*, by their administering anew the rite of baptism to those who came over to their communion, and derived the name of Mennonists, from the famous man, to whom they owe the greatest part of their present felicity, is *hid* in the *remote depths* of *antiquity*, and is, of consequence, difficult to be ascertained."†

This we look upon as a most important concession by one of our most powerful adversaries. This account utterly refutes the long repeated, slanderous story, that the Baptists originated with the mad men of Munster in 1522. "This uncertainty," continues the doctor, "will not appear surprising, when it is considered, that this sect started up, all of a sudden, in several countries, at the same point of time, under leaders of different talents and different intentions, and at the very period when the first con-

* Ch. Hist. vol. iii. pp. 426—7.

† Mosheim, vol. iv. p. 424.

tests of the reformers with the Roman Pontiffs drew the attention of the world, and employed the pens of the learned, in such a manner, as to render all other objects and incidents almost matters of indifference. The modern *Mennonites* not only consider themselves as the descendants of the Waldenses, who were so grievously oppressed and persecuted by the despotic heads of the Roman church, but pretend, moreover, to be the purest offspring of these respectable sufferers, being equally averse to all principles of rebellion, on the one hand, and all suggestions of fanaticism on the other."

In the above quotation it is acknowledged that the origin of the Baptists is *hid* in the *remote depths* of *antiquity*; in the following passage the same subject is amplified and more fully explained. "It may be observed that the Mennonites (that is, the Baptists of Germany) are not entirely mistaken, when they boast of their descent from the Waldenses, Petrobrussians and other ancient sects, who are usually considered as *witnesses of the truth*, in the times of universal darkness and superstition. Before the rise of Luther and Calvin, there lay concealed in almost all the countries of Europe, particularly in Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland, and Germany, many persons, who adhered tenaciously to the following doctrine, which the Waldenses, Wickliffites, and Hussites had maintained, some in a more disguised, and others in a more open and public manner, viz. *That the kingdom of Christ, or the visible church he had established upon earth, was an assembly of true and real saints, and ought therefore to be inaccessible to the wicked and unrighteous, and also exempt from all those institutions, which human prudence suggests, to oppose the progress of iniquity, or to correct and reform transgressors.* This maxim is the true source of all the peculiarities that are to be found in the religious doctrine and discipline of the Mennonites; and it is most certain that the greatest part of these peculiarities were approved of by many of those, who before the dawn of the reformation, entertained the notion already mentioned, relating to the visible church of Christ."*

This grand *maxim*, which is thus acknowledged to be the true source of all the peculiarities of the Mennonites, and of all the ancient Waldenses, is most fairly stated, and when stripped of the verbose attire, with which the learn-

* Mosheim, Vol. IV. p. 424—429.

ed doctor has arrayed it, is, by every Baptist, most heartily adopted. This *maxim* goes to exclude all the inventions and traditions of men, and infant baptism among the rest. With this *maxim* in his heart, and his Bible in his hand, a Baptist marches forward in his religious course, and leaves the world and worldly christians, to dispute among themselves about the traditions of the fathers, and rites, which God has never commanded.

But, strange to tell, this *maxim* the great Mosheim calls a fanatical principle, productive of errors, chimeras, tumults, seditions, &c. Well might Robinson say, that a Baptist day-labourer understands liberty better than this learned historian and divine. It seems evident enough from the tenor of Mosheim's writings, that he could not comprehend how a man could be a good citizen, and yet hold, that magistrates, as such, have nothing to do with the kingdom of Christ. It is this grand *maxim* with its appendages, and not rebaptizing, that hath occasioned most of the persecutions, which our brethren have endured in ancient or modern times.

A few general obervations shall close this chapter, which has already been extended to a greater length than was at first intended.

The Waldenses, like the scriptures, have been resorted to by all parties of Protestants in defence of their peculiar sentiments. The papists accused the Protestants of being a new sect, whose principles had no existence till the days of Luther. This charge they all denied, and each party went to rumaging to find predecessors, and trace a line of succession down to the apostles. The corruptions of popery stood as a mountain in the way, and there was no alternative but to find a by-path through the land of the Waldenses. This circumstance induced many learned men of different communities, to investigate the history of this people with more care and attention, than it is any ways likely they would otherwise have done. They doubtless had no thought of helping the cause of the Baptists, who were, at the time of these altercations, universally despised and trodden under foot. But it has so happened, that these researches have furnished us with important evidence, which was not intended for our use; and it now appears plain, that of all parties, the Baptists have the best claim to the ancient Waldenses as their predecessors.

But the same researches which have assisted the Baptists in their inquiries into the character of the Waldenses, have caused them much perplexity and trouble. For the researchers having each one a different standard set up, went in quest of a people who would conform to it. The natural consequence was, that they were all tempted to mould the character of the Waldenses to suit their views. The pious Milner is a notable example of this kind. But a number of older writers, who do not seem to have thought of the Baptists, nor in the least suspected that they would derive any advantage from their statements, have told without reserve all that the accusers of these people said of their rejecting infant baptism, and they have also stated their arguments in favour of the baptism of *believers* and of them *only*.

"Little," says Robinson, "did the old Waldenses think, when they were held in universal abhorrence, and committed every where to the flames, that a time would come when the honour of a connexion with them, would be disputed by different parties of the highest reputation. So it happened, however, at the reformation, and every reformed church put in its claim."*

Uninterrupted succession was the cause of these different claims, but all attempts to prove such a succession have proved ineffectual.

"Protestants by the most substantial arguments have blasted the doctrine of papal succession; and yet these very protestants have undertaken to make proof of an unbroken series of persons of their own sentiments, following one another in due order from the apostles to themselves. The papal succession is a catalogue of names of real and imaginary men, of christians and atheists, blasphemers and saints. The Lutheran succession runs in the papal channel till the reformation, and then in a small stream changes its course. The Calvinist succession, which includes the Presbyterians and all sects which originated from Geneva, is a zig-zag, and it is made up of men of all principles and all communities, and, what is very surprising, of popes, arians, and anabaptists, exactly such men as Calvin and his asssociates committed to the flames for heresy.

"The doctrine of uninterrupted succession is necessary only to such churches as regulate their faith and practice by tradition, and for their use it was first invented."†

* Robinson's Researches, p. 310. † Ibid, p. 476.

But a Baptist has not the least trouble about what is called a lineal or apostolical succession. His line of succession is in faithful men, and it is a matter of indifference with him, when or where they lived, by what name they were called, or by whom they were baptized or ordained. But one thing is certain, that if any thing has been omitted or done wrong, he is sure to correct it according to his views of the apostolical model.

One observation farther, respecting the Waldenses, ought not to be omitted. Some have attempted to prove that they were all Pedobaptists, and others, that they were all Baptists. Both, in my opinion, attempt to prove too much. That many and probably most of them were Baptists, or would now be esteemed such, I think has been clearly proved; but it is evident that others baptized their children, and some of them fell in with Calvin's party at Geneva, soon after the commencement of the reformation. Some of them appear to have been like the Quakers, and rejected baptism altogether. Some were Arians, Unitarians, &c. Some are represented as a turbulent faction in the church, while others had wholly separated from it. Some, we find, engaged in political struggles and in scenes of war, while others would not swear at all, nor bear arms in any case, nor shed human blood. This circumstance seems to cast a gloom over the character of the Waldenses, but it admits of an easy and satisfactory explanation.

We have shown that the terms Waldenses and Albigenses were, by the papists, generally applied to all the adversaries of the pope and the tyranny and superstitions of Rome.

The term Waldenses was most generally used and answered very nearly to that of Nonconformist in England, which every one knows comprehends a multitude of sects, among whom there exists a great variety of opinions and practices. Considering then the term Waldenses, as a general name for a dissenter, it is easy to conceive that it would comprehend a great variety of characters; and it is a well known fact that this term was applied without any distinction, to the righteous and profligate, to the wise and foolish, to the orthodox and heterodox, to the sober christian and the turbulent incendiary. The adversaries of Rome dissented for different reasons, some for conscience' sake, and others from political motives, some were christians and others were not; but it is always

found that an infidel is as anxious for liberty of conscience as a christian. These things make it necessary to distinguish between the evangelical Waldenses, who are usually considered as the *ancient witnesses for the truth*, and that promiscuous assemblage of dissenters, to whom the papists misapplied the name.

The people properly called Waldenses were remarkable for the purity of their morals and the simplicity of their faith, their enemies themselves being judges; and so far from engaging in any political struggles, many of them would not in any case bear arms nor shed human blood. Others seem to have believed in defensive war, and when their enemies came to molest them in their vallies and obscure retreats, they assembled at the defiles of the mountains, and with bows and arrows disputed their passage, and often repelled them.

It has often been the lot of christians to be charged with tumults and seditions in which they had no hand, but which they heartily abhorred. It has also often happened, that they have had officious patrons and defenders, who have done them more hurt than good. There is a remarkable example of this kind in the history of the Waldenses. In the beginning of the twelfth century, these people were very numerous in the southern parts of France, and particularly in the dominions of Raymond, count of Toulouse. They appear to have emigrated hither from the other side of the Alps. Raymond strongly protected his Waldensian subjects, though there seems no evidence that he understood or felt the vital influence of their doctrine. At this time the horrid inquisition was just established, and its cruel instruments were dispersed in different countries. But this bloody engine met with violent opposition, and in many cases the inquisitors were apprehended and confined, and some were murdered either by an enraged populace, or by the secret contrivances of princes. Two inquisitors were sent into the dominions of Raymond, who met with rough treatment, and one of them was murdered, and Raymond was considered the author of his death. This circumstance furnished pope Innocent with a specious pretence for executing his bloody purposes; a holy war was undertaken against Raymond and his subjects, and multitudes of the innocent Waldenses were slain and dispersed, in revenge for one rash act of their patron, which was committed without their knowledge or desire.

Among the people properly called Waldenses, there was doubtless some diversity of opinion as it respects matters both of faith and practice. But it is certain from the testimony of both friends and enemies, that many of them rejected infant baptism, and held, that professed believers were the only subjects of the baptismal rite. It is, on the other hand, evident, that some of them baptized their children, but all were obnoxious to the church of Rome, and sorely felt the weight of her revengeful hand. But "as thunder storms drive timorous animals together for shelter," so the storms of persecution induced these christians to associate together for their common safety and mutual edification in the things of God.

Some further information respecting the Waldenses will be given in the accounts which will follow in the next chapter. And it will be found that wherever they prevailed, infant baptism was opposed, and the baptism of believers was maintained.

CHAP. III.

ALL the scenes described in the preceding chapter transpired before the reformation in the sixteenth century. We have seen that the Waldenses were first found in the vallies of Piedmont, in Italy; that they were thence dispersed into France, Spain, Germany, England, and other European kingdoms. We have hitherto considered them as a collective body, without any regard to the kingdoms or countries which they inhabited. In this chapter we shall treat of them and their descendants, and of all who maintained their principles, under the heads of the governments in which they were found, and in some cases we shall find it necessary to go back beyond the period, to which in the last chapter we arrived.

GERMANY.

Our information respecting the Baptists in this extensive empire in ancient times is extremely limited. But Mosheim assures us that they were in this empire long before the rise of Luther and Calvin. They were the descendants of the Waldenses, Petrobrussians, and other eminent sects. They were called by their ancient names,

until about the time of the reformation; then they began to be denominated Anabaptists, and according to Robinson, this name was given to them by a Swiss pedant, who could not die easy without letting the world know that he understood Greek. In this chapter we shall treat of the Baptists under three different names. They were first called *German Anabaptists*, which term is familiar to all who have studied the history of the Baptists as related by their adversaries. After Menno they were generally called Mennonites. But the Mennonites in process of time settled mostly in Holland, and here they received the common name of the inhabitants of the country, and were called Dutch Baptists. These few explanatory remarks the reader ought to bear in mind while perusing the following sketches.

It is said the Dutch Baptists have published voluminous histories of themselves, but I do not find that any of their works have been translated into English, or that the Baptists in England or America have had much acquaintance with them. I find Crosby and other writers often make mention of a folio volume, called the martyrology of the foreign Anabaptists. I have taken much pains to learn something about this book, but have hitherto been unsuccessful. It is said however to contain a numerous list of ancient Baptist martyrs.

Most of the information I can find respecting the old German Anabaptists, is contained in Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, and his accounts are taken from slanderous reports, and the writings of Lutherans, who, like himself, were all intent on covering the Baptists with shame, and exalting on their ruins, their own august Pedobaptist establishment.

"Mr. Arnoldi and Dr. Schyn, two Dutch Baptist writers, have proved by irrefragable evidence from state papers, public confessions of faith, and authentic books, that Ezechiel and Frederic Spanheim, Heidegger, Hoffman, and others, have given a fabulous account of the history of the Dutch Baptists, and that the younger Spanheim, had taxed them with holding thirteen heresies, of all which, not a single society of them believed one word; yet later historians quote these writers as devoutly, as if all they had affirmed were undisputed and allowed to be true."

No Pedobaptist writer has made more important concessions in favour of the advocates of believers' baptism than Mosheim, and yet no writer has treated them with

more roughness and asperity, or loaded them with a greater number of reproachful terms. Whenever he has referred to their history, he has given full scope to his stupendous verbosity, and poured upon them a tremendous shower of invective and reproach.

But after all these reproachful invectives, it is found, upon strict examination, that the tumults in Germany were first commenced by Catholicks, that all parties helped to carry them on, and that the affair at Munster was begun, not by the Anabaptists, but by Bernard Rotman, a Pedobaptist minister of the Lutheran persuasion, as will be shown in its proper place.

That there were tumultuous scenes in Germany, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, no person can deny. That some real and many reputed Baptists had a hand in them, every understanding Baptist will allow; but that the Baptists were the principal promoters of these scenes, that their Baptistical sentiments led them to engage in political struggles, and that their denomination originated at this time, are statements which they now do, and always have contended are slanderous and false. But leaving this subject for the present, we will attempt to give some brief sketches of the history of the Baptists in Germany, and some of the neighbouring states.

Before the rise of Luther and Calvin, there lay concealed in almost all the countries of Europe, particularly in Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland and Germany, many persons who adhered tenaciously to the doctrine which the Waldenses, Wickliffites, and Hussites had maintained.

These concealed christians we have good reasons for believing were mostly Baptists; and by Mosheim's concessions, and a number of concurring testimonies, they were the remains of the ancient Waldenses, who had been driven hither by papal persecutions. This hint of Mosheim's, is the first account we have of them; and from this period we must begin to trace their progress. "The drooping spirits of these people, who had been dispersed through many countries, and persecuted every where with the greatest severity, were revived when they were informed that Luther, seconded by several persons of eminent piety, had successfully attempted the reformation of the church. They now started up, all on a sudden, under different leaders in Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands," and fondly hoped that the happy and long expected period had arrived, in which God was about to

visit his people, and restore his church to her primitive purity and simplicity. They looked up to Luther and his associates, with the most lively hopes and expectations; they commenced their labours in an open and zealous manner, great success attended their exertions, and great numbers fell in with their views. Their progress was rapid and extensive, and soon, in a great part of Europe, they had a prodigious multitude of followers. They were pleased to find the pillars of Babylon shaken, by means of Luther and his companions; but they soon became dissatisfied with the plan of reformation proposed by the Saxon reformer. "They looked upon it as much beneath the sublimity of their views," and therefore undertook to carry it forward to greater perfection. Luther built his church after the old popish model, or rather he christened the old church with a new name, and called it *reformed*. Luther *repaired* the old house, but the Baptists thought it should be taken down, the rotten timbers left out, and be built anew of what good materials remained. Luther's churches were not made up of good people only, but they embraced all within the parish bounds, and all, whether righteous or wicked, were admitted to communion. This mode of building, which makes all church and no world, was contrived in Babylon; but it is still followed by many, who profess to have come out of her. The Baptists held then, as they have done in every age, *that the church of Christ was an assembly of true and real saints, and ought, therefore, to be inaccessible to the wicked and unrighteous.* It is not strange, therefore, that Luther's plan of reformation was much beneath the sublimity of their views.

I find no accounts by which we can form an estimate of the probable number of those, who embraced the sentiments of the Baptists in these times. According to Mosheim there was a prodigious multitude; but we are informed at the same time that they were an ignorant, miserable rabble. There is every reason for believing that the number of real Baptists was great, but it is also evident that the number of those, who were falsely so called, was much greater. Formerly all who opposed the corruptions of Rome, were, by the papists, called Waldenses; and now, by the Protestants, all who opposed infant baptism, sighed for liberty, or even projected any new plan of a civil or religious, of a sober or visionary nature, were denominated Anabaptists. This circumstance is suggested by Mosheim, and it is doubtless correct.

When we consider that the term Anabaptists was thus indiscriminately applied to such a heterogeneous assemblage of character, it will not appear strange that the number was great, and that many of them were visionary and seditious. But it is grievous to relate that the sword of justice, or rather of persecution, was unsheathed against all who bore the name of Anabaptists, and the innocent and guilty were involved in the same cruel fate. Even Mosheim laments that so little distinction was made between the sober and seditious, by the cruel executioners of persecuting edicts. He acknowledges that those who had no other marks of peculiarity than their administering baptism to adult persons only, and excluding the unrighteous from their communion, met with the same treatment as seditious incendiaries, who were for unhinging all government, and destroying all authority. "It is true indeed," says this writer, "that many Anabaptists suffered death, not on account of their being considered as rebellious subjects, but merely because they were judged *incurable hereticks;* for in this century the error of limiting the administration of baptism to adult persons only, and the practice of rebaptizing such as had received that sacrament in a state of infancy, were looked upon as most flagitious and intolerable heresies."

A few cases of capital punishments for denying infant baptism are thus related by Mr. Crosby: "In the year 1528, Hans Kaeffer and Leonard Freek, for opposing infant baptism, were beheaded at Schwas in Germany, and Leopald Suyder at Augsburg for the same. At Saltzburg eighteen persons of the same faith were burnt; and twenty-five at Waltzen the same year. In the year 1529, twenty of them were put to death in the Palatinate; and three hundred and fifty at Altre in Germany: The men for the most part beheaded, and the women drowned. In 1533, Hugh Crane, and Margaret his wife, with two more, were martyred at Harlem; the woman was drowned; the three men were chained to a post, and roasted by a fire at a distance till they died. This was the very same year that the rising was at Munster. Likewise, in the protestant cantons in Switzerland, they were used as hardly about the same time. In 1530, two of the baptized brethren were burnt. In 1531, six more of the congregation of Baptists were martyred in the same place. In 1533, two persons, Lodwick Test, and Catherine Harngen, were burnt at Munster.

But the rustic war now coming on, which concluded with the tragedy at Munster, in which some of the Anabaptists were concerned, the name now became unspeakably odious, and always excited the idea of a seditious incendiary, a pest to human society. All who were called by this name, whatever was their character or sentiments, became the objects of reproach and vengeance, and were every where exposed to ravages and death.

We shall for the present leave our German brethren in the most deplorable situation, every where hunted like savages and exposed to death in its most tormenting and revengeful forms. The Munster affair with its causes and consequences will be considered under a separate head.

It is natural to conclude that while the terrors of death in the most dreadful forms were presented before all, who opposed the baptism of infants, or in the least favoured the Anabaptists, that many deserted them, and especially that promiscuous multitude, which Mosheim describes, who never entered into the spirit of their principles, and who were connected with them by the most feeble ties. But on the other hand some excellent characters became members of their communion, among whom Menno Simon appears to have held the most distinguished rank. Menno, for by his first name he appears to have been generally called, was born at Witmars in Friesland, in 1505. He was ordained a popish priest, and continued a famous preacher and disputer in the Catholick connexion until 1531, when he began to suspect the validity of many things in the church of Rome, and among the rest that of *infant baptism*. He first discovered his suspicions to the doctors of his own fraternity, then to Luther, but failing of satisfaction from any, he next betook himself to the study of the New Testament and ecclesiastical history, and, as it generally happens in all such cases, he brought up at last on Baptist ground. Mosheim asserts that he went over to the Anabaptists first in a clandestine manner, and frequented their assemblies with the utmost secrecy; but in the year 1536, he threw off the mask, resigned his rank in the Romish church, and publickly embraced their communion. About a year after this, he began his ministry among the Anabaptists, and "from this period to the end of his days, (that is, during the space of twenty-five years) he travelled from one country to another, with his wife and children, exercising his ministry under pressures and calamities of various kinds, that succeeded each other without interruption, and constant-

ly exposed to the danger of falling a victim to the severity of the laws. East and West Friesland, together with the province of Groningen, were first visited by this zealous apostle of the Anabaptists; from thence he directed his course into Holland, Gelderland, Brabant, and Westphalia, continued it through the German provinces that lie on the coast of the Baltic sea, and penetrated so far as Livonia. In all these places his ministerial labours were attended with remarkable success, and added to his sect a prodigious number of proselytes. Hence he is deservedly looked upon as the common chief of almost all the Anabaptists, and the parent of the sect that still subsists under that denomination. The success of this missionary will not appear very surprising to those who are acquainted with his character, spirit, and talents, and who have a just notion of the state of the Anabaptists at the period of time now under consideration. Menno was a man of genius; though, as his writings shew, his genius was not under the direction of a very sound judgment. He had the inestimable advantage of a natural and persuasive eloquence, and his learning was sufficient to make him pass for an oracle in the eyes of the multitude. He appears, moreover, to have been a man of probity, of a meek and tractable spirit, gentle in his manners, pliable and obsequious in his commerce with persons of all ranks and characters, and extremely zealous in promoting practical religion and virtue, which he recommended by his example, as well as by his precepts."*

The Mennonites have established a college in Amsterdam, for the benefit of their society, which is called *The College of the Sun.* I conclude, from an expression in Mosheim, that it was founded in the former part of the last

* "Menno was born at Witmarsum, a village in the neighbourhood of Bolswert, in Friesland, in the year 1505, and not in 1496, as most writers tell us After a life of toil, peril, and agitation, he departed in peace in the year 1561, in the dutchy of Holstein, at the country-seat of a certain nobleman, not far from the city of Oldesloe, who, moved with compassion at a view of the perils to which Menno was exposed, and the snares that were daily laid for his ruin, took him, together with certain of his associates, into his protection, and gave him asylum. We have a particular account of this famous Anabaptist in the *Cambria Literata* of Mollerus, *tom.* ii p. 835. See also Hermon Schyn *Plenior Deductio Historia Mennonitarum*, cap. vi. p. 116. The writings of Menno, which are almost all composed in the Dutch language, were published in folio at Amsterdam, in the year 1561."

Mosheim, Vol. IV. p. 441.

century. But I have not been able to obtain any particulars respecting the nature or extent of the establishment.

The Mennonites were, at first, every where persecuted and destroyed. "But after being a long time in an uncertain and precarious situation, they at length obtained a fixed and unmolested settlement in the United Provinces, under the shade of a legal toleration procured for them by William, prince of Orange, the glorious founder of Belgic liberty. This illustrious chief, who acted from principle in allowing liberty of conscience and worship to christians of different denominations, was moreover engaged by gratitude to favour the Mennonites, who had assisted him in the year 1572, with a considerable sum of money, when his coffers were almost exhausted."*

The Germans and Dutch Baptists appear always to have held some sentiments peculiar to themselves. *They neither admit civil rulers into their communion, nor allow any of their members to perform the functions of magistracy. They deny the lawfulness of repelling force by force, and consider war, in all its shapes, as unchristian and unjust. They are averse to capital punishments*, and feeling themselves bound to swear not at all, *they will not confirm their testimony with an oath.*

Respecting the number of communicants in the Dutch or Mennonite Baptist churches, I have obtained no information whatever. According to a list in Rippon's Register, there were in 1790, in and out of the Netherlands, two hundred and fifty-two churches of the Dutch and Mennonite Baptists, in all of which were five hundred and thirty three ministers. Of these a hundred and seventy-five churches, and two hundred and seventy one ministers were in the Netherlands and Generalities' Lands. Fifteen churches, in which were ninety-six ministers, were in Prussia. Twenty-seven churches and ninety-two ministers were in Upper Saxony. Twenty-seven churches and forty-nine ministers were in France. The rest were in Switzerland, Poland, and Russia.

It is to be feared that vital religion is at a low ebb in these ancient churches of Baptists, and I wish I were able to say they had all maintained the ordinances of the gospel in their primitive purity, and in the manner they were maintained by their persecuted ancestors. The American Mennonites have adopted pouring instead of immersion, and it is probable that many, and I know not but most of the European Mennonites, have done the same.

* Mosheim, vol. IV. p. 461.

Bohemia.

I shall not attempt to give any thing like a connected history of the people of whom we are inquiring under this and the following heads. The want of materials would render such an attempt altogether impracticable. The most that I can learn is, that there have been at different periods large numbers of christians in Bohemia, Moravia, Poland, Transylvania, and other parts of Europe, which have not yet been mentioned, who maintained believers' baptism by immersion, but who, at the same time, were much divided in their doctrinal sentiments. All I shall now attempt, will be to give some extracts of their history, and then collect some brief biographical sketches of some of their most distinguished characters.

The names of John Huss and Jerome of Prague are familiar to all who are acquainted with ecclesiastical affairs. They lived more than a hundred years before Luther and Calvin, and it is generally agreed that they laid the foundation for the Reformation in Europe, which these two illustrious successors were the means of effecting. They were barbarously destroyed by the Council of Constance, in 1415. From the writings and preaching of these distinguished reformers, and from the labours of a zealous company of men who built on their principles, who were sometimes called Taborites, but who denominated themselves the *Unitas Fratrum*, in process of time arose societies in Bohemia and the surrounding nations, who were denominated Anabaptists, and were described by Erasmus, in 1519, in the following terms: "These men," says he, "have no other opinion of the pope, cardinals, bishops, and other clergy, than as of manifest antichrists. They call the pope sometimes the beast, and sometimes the whore, mentioned in the Revelations. Their own bishops and priests, they themselves do choose for themselves, ignorant and unlearned laymen, that have wife and children. They mutually salute one another by the name of brother and sister. They own no other authority than the Scriptures of the Old and New-Testament. They slight all the doctors, both ancient and modern, and give no regard to their doctrine. Their priests when they celebrate the offices of mass (or communion) do it without any priestly garments; nor do they use any prayer or collects on this occasion, but only the Lord's prayer, by which they con-

secrate bread that has been leavened. They believe or own little or nothing of the sacraments of the church. Such as come over to their sect, must every one be *baptized anew, in mere water.* They make no blessing of salt, nor of water ; nor make any use of consecrated oil. They believe nothing of divinity in the sacrament of the eucharist, only that the consecrated bread and wine do by some occult signs represent the death of Christ ; and, accordingly, that all that do kneel down to it, or worship it, are guilty of idolatry : That that sacrament was instituted by Christ to no other purpose but to renew the memory of his passion, and not to be carried about or held up by the priests to be gazed on. For that Christ himself, who is to be adored and worshipped with the honour of Latreia, sits at the right of God, as the Christian church confesses in the creed. Prayers to saints, and for the dead, they count a vain and ridiculous thing ; as likewise auricular confession and penance enjoined by the priest for sins. Eves and fast-days are, they say, a mockery, and the disguise of hypocrites."

"This description," says Crosby, "does almost in every thing fit the modern Baptists, especially those in England. Their saluting one another by the name of brother and sister ; their choosing their own ministers, and from among the laity ; their rejecting all priestly garments, and refusing to kneel at the sacrament ; their slighting all authorities but that of the scriptures ; but especially their baptizing again all that embraced their way, does certainly give the Baptists a better right than any other protestants, to claim these people for their predecessors."[22]

In Poland and Transylvania, both before and after the Reformation, there were many who were the able advocates of believers' baptism ; but after suffering many persecutions and vicissitudes, they seem to have been scattered and absorbed among the Arian and Socinian reformers of those northern nations. Some of the most distinguished characters of those times, among the Baptists, according to Mr. Robinson, were—

Bernard Ochin or Ochinus. This man was an Italian, he had been a monk, and confessor to the pope ; but he offended his holiness by preaching too freely before him against his pride. Fearing the consequences of the pope's di pleasure, he fled for safety, and finally settled at Pinckzow. Robinson says be became a Unitarian Bap-

tist; but it is doubted by Mosheim whether he ever adopted the doctrine of Socinus.

Stanlius Lutomirski. I find no account of the birth of this eminent man. He had been in priest's orders in the church of Rome, and secretary to the king of Poland, who intended to have preferred him to be lord primate; but his conscience, says Robinson, spoiled him for a cardinal archbishop, and converted him into a teacher of a Baptist church. He wrote the circular letter for the synod held at Wengrovia by the Pinckzovians, which is said to be a master-piece in its kind. He informed the churches that the synod had judged infant baptism an error, and had resolved to renounce it—he added, that though some one had mentioned the affair at Munster, yet believers' baptism had nothing to do with it, and that as they had always obeyed magistrates, so they had resolved to do in future for conscience' sake—he closes with exhortations to brotherly kindness, and with adoring God, who had brought them out of the Babylonish captivity of the papal church.

Michael Servetus. This unhappy man was a Spaniard by birth, and lost his life at Geneva by means of the famous John Calvin. He was not immediately connected with the Baptists we have been describing; but as no account of him has yet been given, this seems the most proper place to say a few things respecting him. The death of this unfortunate man produced very lively emotions both of pity and resentment in the breasts of many, who were not altogether in favour of his religious opinions.

Many have written accounts of this much injured man, and uttered the severest rebukes against Calvin and his party by whom he was committed to the flames. Robinson has entered somewhat largely into his history in his Researches, under the Article, *The Church of Navarre and Biscay;* but our limits will permit us to give only the brief outlines of the character and sufferings of this famous Baptist. He was born at Villa Neuva in Arragon, in Spain, not long after the year 1500. He was bred to physic, but he was early inclined to religious studies, and at the age of eighteen he became an author. His first publication was designed to oppose the doctrine of the Trinity. The errors of Servetus on this and some other subjects we lament. But this does not hinder us from pitying his fate, and detesting the persecuting in-

trigues which cost him his life. Servetus passed through various fortunes, and published a number of works, all of which we must pass over. While he was studying at the University at Paris, he became acquainted with Calvin, who was nearly of his age. This was about twenty years before he was burnt at Geneva.

From Paris, Servetus went to Lyons, where he met with Peter Palmier, a Catholick and Archbishop of Vienne in Dauphine. The Archbishop being a lover of learned men, and fond of Servetus, pressed him to go to Vienne and practise physic, and offered him an apartment in his palace. The doctor accepted his invitation, and thirteen years lived safe and happy, under the auspices of his Catholick patron. This prelate seems to have been one of those, of whom there have been numbers in the Catholick church, who think freely, but who do not act consistently, who inwardly disapprove of their own corrupt system, but who, for reasons best known to themselves, continue to defend it. The reformers of that day could not conceive how a Catholick Archbishop and an Anabaptist doctor, could live in peace in different apartments in the same palace. The enemies of Servetus envied his felicity, and plotted his ruin. A prosecution was commenced against him, and he was cast into prison; but he soon, by the indulgence of the jailer, made his escape and concealed himself four months, no body knows where. The prosecution was carried on in his absence, he was condemned to be burnt alive in a slow fire, and he was actually burnt in effigy. Being thus hunted by his enemies, this persecuted man next determined on going to Naples, in hope of settling there in the practice of his profession. It is supposed that he was induced to this measure by a Spanish nobleman, named John Valdesius, who was then secretary to the king of Naples, and who had embraced the principles of the Anabaptists.* He took his way through Geneva, but kept close for fear of discovery. While he waited for a boat to cross the lake, Calvin, by some means, got intelligence of his arrival, and although it was Sunday, yet he prevailed upon the chief syndich to arrest and imprison him. The proceedings against him are too lengthy to be related here; but the issue of them was, that on 27th of October, 1553, this unfortunate man, with many aggravating circumstances, was burnt alive at Geneva for heresy.

* Robinson's Researches, p. 348.

A multitude of testimonies go to prove that Calvin was at the head of this barbarous affair. But omitting all others, I will transcribe a part of a letter written by him in 1561, to the Marquis Paet, high chamberlain to the king of Navarre. "Honour, glory, and riches," said he to the Marquis, "shall be the reward of your pains: but above all, do not fail to rid the country of those scoundrels, who stir up the people to revolt against us. Such monsters should be exterminated, as I have exterminated Michael Servetus the Spaniard."*

Servetus was a confirmed Baptist, and censured with great severity the custom of infant baptism, and this was probably one of the principal things which provoked the resentment of his enemies. His doctrinal sentiments were unquestionably very exceptionable. He opposed the doctrine of the Trinity, and adopted the Unitarian scheme; but his views upon this mysterious subject were singular, and in a great measure peculiar to himself. He also opposed the proper divinity of Christ, but like Paul of Samosata, he could never get over the first chapter of John; and therefore he sometimes called him God, and accounted for doing so by some sublime sort of inhabitation of the Deity in the man Jesus.

Andrew Judith was, according to Mosheim, one of the most learned and eminent men of the sixteenth century. He was born in Buda in Hungary, in 1533. He had a most accomplished education, and went an extensive round of honours and preferments. He set out in his career of worldly glory, with the bishoprick of Tinia, and was in succession privy counsellor to the emperor Ferdinand, his imperial ambassador to the court of Sigismund, King of Poland, a delegate in the famous council of Trent for Hungary, and finally bishop of Chonat. But tired of the fopperies of the church of Rome, he left her communion, became a protestant, and in the end a member, and an occasional teacher of a Baptist church at Smila, a town belonging to him in Poland. "It is said that he shewed some inclination towards the Socinian system; some of his friends deny this; others confess it, but maintain that he afterwards changed his sentiments in that respect."

"The greatest man, says Robinson, among the Baptists at the reformation, was the celebrated, the amiable, the incomparable Dudith, a man to be held in everlasting

* Robinson's Researches, p. 348.

remembrance, much for his rank, more for his abilities and virtue, but most of all for his love of liberty,"* and so on. Never, says the same writer, was a finer pen than that of Dudith. "You contend," says he to Beza, "that scripture is a perfect rule of faith and practice. But you are all divided about the sense of scripture, and you have not settled who shall be judge. You have broken off your yoke, allow me to break mine. Having freed yourselves, from the tyranny of popish prelates, why do you turn ecclesiastical tyrants yourselves, and treat others with barbarity and cruelty for only doing what you set them an example to do? You contend that your lay-hearers, the magistrates, and not you, are to be blamed, for it is they who banish and burn for heresy. I know you make this excuse; but tell me, have not you instilled such principles into their ears? Have they done any thing more than put in practice the doctrine that you have taught them? Have you not told them how glorious it was to defend the faith? Have you not been the constant panegyrists of such princes as have depopulated whole districts for heresy? Do you not daily teach, that they who appeal from your confessions to scripture ought to be punished by the secular power? It is impossible for you to deny this. Do not all the world know, that you are a set of demagogues, or (to speak more mildly) a sort of tribunes, and that the magistrates do nothing but exhibit in public what you teach in private? You try to justify the banishment of Ochin, and the execution of others, and you seem to wish Poland would follow your example. God forbid! When you talk of your Augsburg confession, and your Helvetic creed, and your unanimity, and your fundamental truths, I keep thinking of the sixth commandment, THOU SHALT NOT KILL. Farewell, most learned and respected Beza. Take what I have said in good part, and continue your friendship for me." This is only a sketch of a letter; but these hints may serve to shew the temper and the turn of the man.

This eminent Baptist fell asleep at Breslaw, in Silesia, in 1589, about the 57th year of his age.

* History of Baptism, p. 556.

CHAP. IV.

ENGLAND.

WE have now arrived to a country, where we shall not be obliged to rely altogether on the accusations of enemies, and the records of courts of inquisition for information respecting our brethren. The English Baptists have paid considerable attention to their own history, and have furnished materials from which we can gain clear and explicit accounts of their character, progress, sufferings and circumstances, for between two and three hundred years; they have also collected from the writings of their adversaries many valuable hints respecting their brethren at a much earlier period.

About seventy years ago, Mr. Thomas Crosby, a deacon of the old church in London, formerly under the care of Dr. Gill, but now of Dr. Rippon, published, in four volumes, *A History of the English Baptists.* This history is something like that of our late venerable Backus; it contains a vast fund of valuable information, but is deficient in style and arrangement. About the beginning of the present century a periodical work was commenced by Dr. Rippon of London, entitled *The Baptist Annual Register.* This work was continued to forty one numbers, and contains many interesting accounts of the Baptists both in England and elsewhere.

A History of the English Baptists in two volumes, 8vo. has been published by Mr. Ivimey, a Baptist Minister in London. This work contains much valuable and interesting matter. The first volume contains a history of the English Baptists, including an investigation of the History of Baptism in England, from the earliest period to which it can be traced, to the close of the 17th century. The second volume contains notices and historical accounts of above three hundred ministers, and one hundred and thirty distinct churches, founded in the metropolis, and in different parts of the kingdom before the beginning of the eighteenth century. At the close of his preface to the second volume, Mr. Ivimey observes; "Should his health be continued and his life preserved, he intends to produce a third volume, to comprise the events of the Baptist denomination from the beginning of the eighteenth century till the close of the reign of George the second." It is sincerely hoped that this respectable author will be spared to prosecute his plan.

The plan of this work admits only of summary statements and abridged accounts, and but very brief sketches can be given of the Baptists in England. I should have endeavoured to reserve a larger place for them, were it not that those, who may wish to peruse their history at large, will probably soon have the opportunity of doing it, either by the importation or republication of Ivimey's work.

The Baptists in England are divided into *General* and *Particular*, and have been since soon after the reformation. Their principal difference is in points of doctrine. It will be difficult, and indeed unnecessary, to pay a strict regard to these distinctions throughout the following sketch. Both parties have had their share of sufferings, and among them both we find a number of very worthy and distinguished characters.

About sixty years after the ascension of our Lord, says Mr. Josiah Taylor in his Memoirs of the English Baptists, christianity was planted in Britain, and a number of royal blood, and many of inferior birth, were called to be saints. Here the gospel flourished much in early times, and here also its followers endured many afflictions and calamities from pagan persecutors. The British christians experienced various changes of prosperity and adversity until about the year 600. A little previous to this period, Austin the monk, that famous Pedobaptist and persecutor, with about forty others, were sent here by pope Gregory the great, to convert the pagans to popery, and to subject all the British christians to the dominion of Rome. The enterprise succeeded, and conversion (or rather perversion) work was performed on a large scale. King Ethelbert and his court, and a considerable part of his kingdom, were won over by the successful monk, who consecrated the river Swale, near York, in which he caused to be baptized ten thousand of his converts in a day.

Having met with so much success in England, he resolved to try what he could do in Wales. There were many British christians who had fled hither in former times to avoid the brutal ravages of the outrageous Saxons. The monk held a synod in their neighbourhood, and sent to their pastors to request them to receive the pope's commandment; but they utterly refused to listen to either the monk or pope, or to adopt any of their maxims. Austin, meeting with this prompt refusal, endeavoured to compromise matters with these strenuous

Welshmen, and requested that they would consent to him in three things, one of which was that they should give christendom, that is, baptism to their children; but with none of his propositions would they comply. "Sins therefore," said this zealous apostle of popery and pedobaptism, "ye wol not receive peace of your brethren, ye of other shall have warre and wretche," and accordingly he brought the Saxons upon them to shed their innocent blood, and many of them lost their lives for the name of Jesus.

The Baptist historians in England contend that the first British christians were Baptists, and that they maintained Baptist principles until the coming of Austin. "We have no mention," says the author of the Memoirs, "of the christening or baptizing children in England, before the coming of Austin in 597; and to us it is evident he brought it *not from heaven*, but *from Rome*. But though the subject of baptism began now to be altered, the mode of it continued in the national church a thousand years longer, and baptism was administered by dipping, &c." From the coming of Austin the church in this island was divided into two parts, the *old* and the *new*. The old or Baptist church maintained their original principles. But the new church adopted infant baptism, and the rest of the multiplying superstitions of Rome.

Austin's requesting the British christians, who opposed his popish mission, to baptize their children, is a circumstance which the English and Welsh Baptists consider of much importance. They infer from it, that before Austin's time, infant baptism was not practised in England, and that though he converted multitudes to his Pedobaptist plan, yet many, especially in Wales and Cornwall, opposed it; and the Welsh Baptists contend that Baptist principles were maintained in the recesses of their mountainous Principality all along through the dark reign of popery.

Popery was the established religion of England almost a thousand years; and although the people paid Peter's pence, and were involved in darkness, ignorance, and the shadow of death, yet some of these islanders were refractory subjects of the papal see, and some of the kings occasioned much trouble to his holiness. They had much rather be pope themselves, than submit to a foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

William the Conqueror ascended the British throne in 1066. During his reign, the Waldenses and their disci-

ples from France, Germany, and Holland, began to emigrate to and abound in England. About the year 1080, they are said to have propagated their sentiments throughout England; so that not only the meaner sort in country villages, but the nobility and gentry in the chiefest towns and cities, embraced their doctrines, and of course adopted the opinions of the Baptists, for we have no information that any of the Waldenses at this period, had fallen off to infant baptism. For more than a hundred years, that is, from 1100 to 1216, during the successive reigns of Henry I. Stephen, Henry II. Richard I. and John, the Waldenses increased and were unmolested. The two last of these kings were much engaged in foreign affairs. Richard was long absent in the holy war, and John had great contests with the pope, who laid his kingdom under an interdict, and forbid all publick worship for the space of six years, only admitting of private baptism to infants.

In the reign of Henry III. about 1218, the order of the friar Minorites were sent over from the continent to suppress the Waldensian heresy, and many, doubtless, suffered by their means.

We must now pass on to the reign of Edward II. in 1315 when Walter Lollard, a German preacher of great renown among the Waldenses, and a friend to believers' baptism, came into England and preached with great effect. His followers and the Waldenses generally in England, for many generations after him were called Lollards,* and Crosby has quoted authorities to show that they rejected infant baptism as a needless ceremony. In the reign of Edward III. about the year 1311, John Wickliff began to be famous in England, and multitudes embraced his doctrine, and entered heartily into his views of reformation. Wickliff was famous both for writing and preaching. His writings were carried into Bohemia, and his sentiments were there propagated extensively by Huss, Jerome, and others, and among the followers of this great man in Bohemia and England we find many Baptists. There can be no dispute that Wickliff taught Anabaptistical errors, that many who built on his principles rejected infant baptism; and indeed the evidence is very strong that he himself *became a Baptist*.†

Dr. Hurd in his *History of all Religions*, says, "It is pretty clear from the writings of many learned men, that

* Ivimey, p. 56. † We do not contend that he was one at first.

Dr. John Wickliff, the first English reformer, either considered infant baptism unlawful, or at best unnecessary." The author of a *History of Religion*, published in London in 1764, in four volumes octavo, says, "it is clear from many authors that Wickliff rejected infant baptism, and that on this doctrine his followers agreed with the modern Baptists." Thomas Walden and Joseph Vicecomes, who had access to his writings, have charged him with denying pedobaptism, and they brought their charge at a time when it might have been easily contradicted, if it had not been true.

"Walden before mentioned calls Wickliff one of the seven heads that came out of the bottomless pit, for denying infant baptism, that heresy of the Lollards, of whom he was a great ring-leader.*"

There were now in England Lollards and Wickliffites, and a number of testimonies go to prove they rejected infant baptism. They were numerous throughout the kingdom, and for some time continued in the established church. But Rapin says that in 1389, the Lollards and Wickliffites began to separate from the church of Rome, and to appoint priests from among themselves, to perform divine service after their way.

In the year 1400, Henry IV. enacted the cruel statute for the burning of hereticks. And the first that suffered by this infernal law was William Sawtre, a Lollard, and supposed to be a Baptist. The signal was now given for bloody men to execute their cruel purposes in a legal way. The sufferings of the Baptists and all evangelical dissenters, from this period till the reformation, were very great. "The Lollards' tower," says Ivimey, "still stands a monument of their miseries, and of the cruelty of their implacable enemies. This tower is at Lambeth palace, and was fitted up for this purpose by Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, who come to his see in 1414. It is said that he expended two hundred and eighty pounds to make this prison for the Lollards. The vast staples and rings to which they were fastened, before they were brought out to the stake, are still to be seen in a large lumber-room at the top of the palace, and ought to make protestants look back with gratitude upon the hour which terminated so bloody a period."†

From the death of William Sawtre to the time when Henry VIII. renounced the dominion of the pope, and be-

* Ivimey, p. 71—2. † Page 69.

came head of the English church, was upwards of a hundred and thirty years. During this period many Baptists were found in this kingdom, many were obliged to flee from it, and many more were martyred in it. In about three years from 1428, to 1431, one hundred and twenty persons were committed to prison for Lollardy; some of them recanted, others did penance, and several of them were burnt alive.

In 1535, twenty-two Baptists were apprehended and put to death, and in 1539, thirty-one more of the same people, sixteen men and fifteen women, were banished the country, who, going to Delf in Holland, were there put to death, the men beheaded and the women drowned. In the same year two others of their brethren were burned beyond Southwark, in the way to Newington; and a little before, five Dutch Anabaptists were burned at Smithfield. By a speech which Henry VIII. delivered to his parliament in 1545, it appears that many of his subjects went under the name of Anabaptists. And Bishop Latimer, in a sermon preached before the young and amiable Edward VI. son and successor of the popish protestant Henry, mentions that he had lately been informed by a credible person, that there was at that time, one town in England, which contained more than five hundred hereticks, who held the erroneous opinions of the Anabaptists.

The change, which took place under Henry VIII. was in the end favourable to the cause of religion in England: the fetters of popery were broken; the scriptures in the English language were sanctioned by parliament; and by their means evangelical principles were diffused throughout the land. In a short time the Puritans arose, and pushed on the reformation beyond the bounds which the courtly reformers had set. They professed to take the Bible for their only rule, and many, building on their principles, rejected the remains of popish rubbish, and embraced the principles of the Baptists. But persecuting laws were still in force, and the ruling party both in church and state had a disposition to put them in execution. Popery was indeed abolished and protestantism established, but the Baptists soon found that the protestant power was as much determined on their ruin as the popish had ever been. In 1549, a kind of Protestant inquisition was established which consisted of the Archbishop of Canterbury, a number of bishops, noblemen, and others, any three

of whom being a quorum, were instructed to examine and search after all Anabaptists, hereticks, &c. Many Baptists were apprehended, how many were executed we are not informed; but we are sure that two of considerable eminence, viz. Joan Boucher, commonly called Joan of Kent, and George Van Pare, a Dutchman, were committed to the flames. Great exertions were made to save from the stake the unfortunate Joan, who appears to have been a woman of distinction, but who had been compelled by her Bible and conscience to become a Baptist. A person, supposed to be Fox, the author of the Book of Martyrs, earnestly entreated the famous John Rogers, who was afterwards burnt at Smithfield, to use his interest with the Archbishop to save the poor woman from the cruel death to which she had been doomed. But Rogers answered, that burning alive was no cruel death, but easy enough. Fox, astonished at such an answer, replied, "*Well, perhaps it may so happen that you yourselves shall have your hands full of this mild burning.*" And so it came to pass, for Rogers was the first man who was burned in Queen Mary's reign.

Not long after this, we are informed that "the Anabaptists began wonderfully to increase in the land." Whether they founded many churches we cannot learn; but if they did, such was the vigilance of their enemies, they were probably soon broken up. In former times it appears many Baptists had fled from the continent, and for a time found shelter in this kingdom; but now they were hunted out by watchful inquisitors, and either destroyed or driven from the realm. A congregation of Dutch Anabaptists was discovered on Easter-Day, probably about 1570, without Aldgate in London, seven and twenty of whom were taken and imprisoned, four of them recanted, and the rest were probably either banished or destroyed. One month after this, eleven other Baptists, one Dutchman, and ten women, were apprehended and condemned. One was persuaded to renounce his error, eight were banished the land, and two of the company, John Wielmaker and Henry Tor Woort were burnt at Smithfield.

Very scanty accounts have been obtained of the Baptists in England in the times of which we are speaking, and but a few of the sketches which our English brethren have preserved can be inserted here. But it is sufficient to observe that for almost a century after the church of

England was established by law, our Baptist brethren throughout the kingdom were every where persecuted and distressed, and many were exposed to tortures and death.

The last man who was put to death in England for religion was a Baptist. His name was Edward Wightman, and is supposed to be the progenitor of a large family of that name in America, many of whom have been members of different Baptist churches in Rhode-Island, and the neighbouring States of Connecticut and Massachusetts, and not a few of them worthy ministers in our churches. Mr. Wightman was of the town of Burton upon Trent, he was convicted of divers heresies before the bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, and being delivered over to the secular power, was burnt at Litchfield, April 11th, 1612. This poor man was accused by his persecutors with Arianism, Anabaptism, and almost every other heretical *ism*, that ever infected the christian world. He was condemned for holding the wicked heresies of the Ebionites, Cerinthians, Valentinians, Arians, Macedonians, of Simon Magus, Manes, Manicheus, Photinus, and of the Anabaptists, and of other heretical, execrable, and unheard of opinions. "If," says Crosby, "Wightman really held all the opinions laid to his charge, he must have been either an idiot or a madman, and ought to have had the prayers of his persecutors, rather than been put to a cruel death."

From the death of William Sawtre, who was burnt in London, to the time that Edward Wightman perished in the flames at Litchfield, was a period of two hundred and twelve years. We have very good grounds for believing that Sawtre was a Baptist; we are sure that Wightman was: and thus it appears that the Baptists have had the honour of leading the van, and bringing up the rear, of that part of the noble army of English martrys, who have laid down their lives at the stake.

It is now about two hundred years since Wightman, with his enormous load of heresies, was committed to the purifying flames. Almost half of this time, the Baptists in England were, for the most part, in an uncertain state. What earthly enjoyments they possessed were held by a precarious tenure, and persecution and distress were their common lot. They had indeed some short intervals of repose, but these were succeeded by tempestuous seasons, and the cup of affliction was dealt out to them by their enemies in plenteous measure.

We have observed that Edward Wightman was the last man who suffered death for religion in England. But this statement needs some qualification. He was indeed the last who suffered death for conscience' sake by a direct course of law; but multitudes since him, both Baptists and others, have died in prisons, and came by their ends by the various methods of legal persecutions, and lawless outrage, with which implacable adversaries pursued them. Thousands have suffered by fines, scourging, and imprisonment, been driven to exile, starvation, and wretchedness, by a protestant power, which professed to have separated from the mother of harlots, and to have renounced the works of darkness. Of many of these sufferers we have obtained some information; but the history of many others must remain unknown, until that tremendous day, when the righteous Judge of the universe shall make INQUISITION FOR BLOOD.

We shall now pass on to the founding of Baptist churches in this kingdom, and then take notice of their increase from time to time. I find that Crosby and Ivimey, are not entirely agreed respecting the time when the first Baptist churches were founded in England. Crosby's account is as follows: "In the year 1633, the Baptists, who had hitherto been intermixed with other protestant dissenters, without distinction, and who consequently shared with the Puritans in the persecutions of those times, began to separate themselves, and form distinct societies of their own. Concerning the first of these, I find the following account collected from a manuscript of Mr. William Kiffin.

"There was a congregation of protestant dissenters of the Independent persuasion in London, gathered in the year 1616, of which Mr. Henry Jacob was the first pastor, and after him succeeded Mr. John Lathrop, who was their minister in 1633. In this society several persons, finding that the congregation kept not to its first principles of separation, and being also convinced that baptism was not to be administered to infants, but to such as professed faith in Christ, desired that they might be dismissed from the communion, and allowed to form a distinct congregation in such order as was most agreeable to their own sentiments.

"The church, considering that they were now grown very numerous, and so more than could in those times of persecution conveniently meet together, and believing

also that those persons acted from a principle of conscience, and not from obstinacy, agreed to allow them the liberty they desired, and that they should be constituted a distinct church, which was performed, Sept. 12, 1633. And as they believed that baptism was not rightly administered to infants, so they looked upon the baptism they had received at that age as invalid, whereupon most or all of them received a new baptism. Their minister was a Mr. John Spilsbury. What number they were is uncertain, because in the mentioning of about twenty men and women, it is added, *with divers others.*

In the year 1638, Mr. William Kiffin, Mr. Thomas Wilson, and others, being of the same judgment, were upon their request dismissed to the said Mr. Spilsbury's congregation. In the year 1639, another congregation of Baptists was formed, whose place of meeting was in Crutchedfriars, the chief promoters of which were Mr. Green, Mr. Paul Hobson, and Captain Spencer."

There can be no dispute but that these churches were founded at the time, and in the manner above related. But Mr. Ivimey contends that they were not the *first* which were established in England. He has produced a passage from the writings of Dr. Some, which states that as early as 1589, "there were several Anabaptist conventicles in London and other places." "Some persons," adds the doctor, "of these sentiments have been bred at our universities."

It is highly probable that the churches or conventicles mentioned by Dr. Some, were General Baptists, as they doubtless founded many churches in England before the Particular Baptists had any. But the reader must keep in mind, that the following statements respect the Particular Baptists only. The General Baptists will be taken notice of under a separate head.

As our brethren in this insulated kingdom were constantly loaded by their enemies with opprobrious epithets, both from the pulpit and the press, and were accused of holding many dangerous opinions, they at length put forth a confession of their faith for the purpose of clearing themselves from such unjust aspersions. An instrument of this kind was published by the Particular Baptists about ten years after their first churches were founded.* It was signed in the name of seven congre-

* I find Dr. Rippon, on the cover of No. 8, of his Register, under the head of *Materials wanted*, makes mention of a Confession of Faith, published as early as 1611.

gations, or churches of Christ in London; as also by a French congregation of the same judgment. The ministers' names are Thomas Gunne, John Mabbit, Benjamin Cockes, Thomas Kilicop, John Spilsbury, Samuel Richardson, Thomas Munden, George Tipping, Paul Hobson, Thomas Goare, William Kiffin, Thomas Patient, Hansard Knollys, Thomas Holmes, Christopher Duret, Dennis Le Barbier. Several editions of this confession were published in 1643, 1644, and 1646. It was put into the hands of many of the members of parliament, and produced such an effect, that some of their greatest adversaries, (and even the bitter and inveterate doctor Featly) were obliged to acknowledge, that excepting the articles against infant baptism, it was an orthodox confession.

Although but seven churches put forth this confession, yet it appears that there were many more then in being, and before the year 1646, they had increased to forty-six, which Ivimey supposes were situated in and about London. The Anabaptists, said Robert Baille, in 1646, in a work entitled, *Anabaptism the true fountain of error*, have lifted up their heads and increased their number above all the sects in the land.

I do not find any particular account of the number of churches from this period until 1689. About this time, William, Prince of Orange, ascended the throne of England. One of the first measures of government, was to pass the *Act of Toleration*, the Magna Charta of the protestant dissenters; and but a few months after the coronation of that illustrious prince, we find the delegates from upwards of a hundred churches in England and Wales, met in London for the purpose of inquiring into the state of their churches, and adopting measures for their future prosperity. This was in 1689; and by this assembly was published the confession of faith, which has often been distinguished by the name of the Century Confession. This great Association of churches continued its annual sessions for a few years, when finding it inconvenient for delegates to travel so far, it was divided, and associations appear to have been kept up by the English Baptists from that to the present time. "It must not be supposed, says Ivimey, that this general assembly, consisting of a hundred and seven churches, contained all the Baptist churches in England. There were, at the same time, a great number of General Baptists, who had no concern with this assembly. There were also a num-

ber of churches of the Particular Baptists, or who, at least, held to their doctrinal sentiments, who for particular reasons, did not unite in this great association. Some of them held to open communion, and among these were a number in Bedfordshire, which had been founded by the famous John Bunyan, who was a great advocate for that practice. Others probably had some scruples respecting the propriety and utility of Associations.

Among the manuscript writings of Morgan Edwards, I find a list of the Baptist churches in England, which appears to have been made out about the year 1768. At that time the number of Particular Baptist churches was two hundred and seventeen. Dr. Rippon in his Annual Register published a list for 1790, by which it appears that their number had increased to three hundred and twelve. Eight years after, we learn from the same Register that their number amounted to three hundred and sixty-one.

We shall now collect from the wide range of materials before us, brief accounts of the principal scenes of sufferings, which our brethren passed through from the time their first churches were founded, up to the close of their persecutions for conscience' sake. We shall also, as we go along, take notice of some of those distinguished events which transpired in the land during the times of their afflictions, by which their reputation and tranquillity were affected, or in which they were implicated or concerned.

While the bigotted and cruel Archbishop Laud had the government of the church of England, dissenters of every class, and particularly the Baptists, experienced a continual scene of vexation and trouble. About the year 1638, many ministers were apprehended and shut up in prison. And among them was a Mr. Brewer, a Baptist minister, who lay in prison fourteen years.

In these times, the High Commission Court and the Star Chamber were two of the chief engines of wrong both in church and state; but they were terminated by an act of parliament in 1641. But other means of oppression and cruelty remained, and the Baptists were made continally to feel their force. Baptist meetings were frequently disturbed and broken up, and many eminent ministers were punished with fines and imprisonment.

During the reign of Cromwell, the Baptists experienced a respite from their troubles; many of them found fa-

vour with the Protector, were elevated to posts of honour and profit, and their number greatly increased throughout the land.

Charles II. was restored to the throne of his ancestors, May 29, 1660. In his Majesty's declaration from Breda, before his return, it was said, "We do also declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." How far his conduct accorded with these professions, the events of his reign will abundantly show.

The first who suffered for religion in the reign of this profligate prince, was the famous John Bunyan, author of the Pilgrim's Progress, and many other excellent works. He had been a preacher of the gospel about five years, and was exceedingly popular, though he still followed his business as a travelling tinker. While preaching at a village in Bedfordshire in 1660, he was apprehended and committed to Bedford jail, where he remained twelve years. Seven years of the time he was kept so close, that he could not look out of the door of his prison.

The year 1661, says Rapin, was ushered in by an extraordinary event which gave the court a pretence for breaking through the declaration of indulgence, which had been published. The event here alluded to was, in short, as follows: About fifty of those who were called fifth monarchy men, under the conduct of one Thomas Venner, assembled in the evening in St. Paul's church yard, and killed a man, who, upon demand, had answered for God and the King. This gave an alarm, the company was pursued by military force to some distance from the city, where some were taken prisoners. They afterwards returned and fought furiously in several positions until they were all either killed or taken prisoners. The prisoners were shortly after condemned and executed. This was an unfortunate event for dissenters, for the crime of a few furious fanaticks was laid to the charge of all. The king took occasion from this insurrection to publish a proclamation forbidding all meetings and conventicles under pretence of religion, and commanding the oath of allegiance and supremacy to be tendered to all persons disaffected to the government; and in case of refusal, they were to be prosecuted The consequence was, that numbers of Baptists and other dissenters were imprisoned, and their meetings every where disturbed.

This insurrection, like the Munster tragedy, was improved against the turbulent dippers. But "Mr. Jessey preaching soon after, declared to his congregation that Venner should say, he believed there was not one Baptist among them; and that if they succeeded, the Baptists should know that infant baptism was an ordinance of Jesus Christ. Mr. Gravener was present at Venner's meeting house in Coleman street, and heard him say this; from whose mouth (says the writer) I had this account."

Troubles now gathered thick upon our English brethren. In 1662, the Act of Uniformity was passed, in consequence of which, upwards of two thousand eminently godly, learned and useful ministers, were obliged to leave their livings, and were exposed to many hardships and difficulties. Amongst these were a number of the Baptist denomination; but how many cannot be determined with certainty. We are sure, however, that among the Baptist ministers were Henry Jessey, A. M. William Dell, M. A. Francis Bampfield, M. A. Thomas Gennings, Paul Frewen, Joshua Head, John Tombes, B. D. Daniel Dyke, A. M. Richard Adams, Jeremiah Marsden, Thomas Hardcastle, Robert Browne, Gabriel Camelford, John Skinner, ——— Baker, John Gosnold, Thomas Quarrel, Thomas Ewings, Lawrence Wise, John Donne, Paul Hobson, John Gibbs, John Smith, Thomas Ellis, Thomas paxford, Ichabod Chauncey, M. D.

Crosby has mentioned the names of a number of these rejected ministers, of whom it was doubtful whether they were Baptists, and Ivimey has omitted the names of some of whom it has been determined that they had become Baptists before this event. And among them was John Miles. who founded the Baptist church at Swansea in Massachusetts.

"It is rather wonderful," says Ivimey, "that any Baptists were found in the churches at this time, when it is considered that the first act, which was passed, after the restoration of the king, contained an exception of all, who had declared against infant baptism from being restored to their livings. It is probable also that amongst those who had been expelled to make room for the old incumbents, some were of this denomination. The Act of Uniformity completed the business, and after this we do not find that any person who rejected the baptism of infants continued in the establishment."

Some may be surprised that so many Baptist ministers should accept of livings in the parish churches. But it appears to have been a very common custom before these times. It is not unfrequent in this country for Baptist ministers to preach to, and receive salaries from Pedobaptist congregations; they do not administer ordinances amongst them, unless that now and then they find some disposed to go into the water, and they commonly preach more or less to Baptist churches at the same time. And in much the same way these ministers conducted of whom we have been speaking. Whatever fault a Baptist may be disposed to find with such a procedure, it is sure that the Pedobaptists have generally the most reason to complain in the end.

The reign of Charles II. exhibited a series of profligacy, cruelty, and oppression. But as the divine judgments do not always slumber, the nation was visited with very sore calamities. In 1665, a plague broke out, which was then the most dreadful within the memory of man. The number of those who died in London only, amounted to about one hundred thousand. Eight or ten thousand died in the city and suburbs in a week. This calamity was preceded by an unusual drought, and it was succeeded in 1666, by a most destructive fire, which, in three or four days, consumed thirteen thousand and two hundred dwelling houses, eighty nine churches, and many other public buildings. Thus this guilty nation, which had committed to the flames so many of the saints of the Lord, which had starved and tormented so many others in various ways, was, in quick succession, visited with three of the terrible messengers of divine vengeance, famine, plague, and fire.

That the reader may have a view of the circumstances in which the Baptists, in these times were placed, and how their enemies conducted towards them, I will transcribe the following summary statements from the Memoirs of the English Baptists.

"Lord's-day, May 29, 1670, a congregation of Baptists, to the amount of five hundred, met for divine worship near Lewes in Sussex. Two of their enemies observed them go to their meeting-house, and informed against them, upon which Sir Thomas Nutt, a violent persecutor, and three other justices, convicted the minister and above forty of the hearers. The minister was fined 20*l.* and his fine laid upon five of his hearers, and the rest of the company was fined five shillings each. Warrants

were issued under the hands of the justices, for the recovery of the fines by distress and sale of goods, and directed to the constables of the hundred, and the church wardens and overseers of the parish. In the month of June the distresses were made. From Richard White, fined 3*l.* 15*s.* they took value 10*l.* 13*s.* From John Tabret, fined 2*l.* 14*s.* they took a cow. From Walter Brett, a grocer, fined 6*l.* 5*s.* they took two casks of sugar, which cost him 15*l.* From Thomas and Richard Barnard, fined 11*l.* 10*s.* they took six cows, upon which the dairy-maid told them she believed they would *have a store of syllabubs*, having taken so much sugar from Mr. Brett! From Thomas Tourle, fined five shillings, they took a horse, and another from Richard Mantle, for a like fine. From others for similar fines, they took bacon, cheese, kitchen-furniture, wearing apparel, and other goods, to about treble the amount of their fines. The cattle and other property taken from the said several sufferers, were publickly sold for about half their value.

"On the aforesaid 29th of May, a meeting of Baptists was held in Brighthelmstone, at the house of Mr. William Beard, who was fined 20*l.* for which fine the constable of the place and two assistants took *sixty-five bushels of malt, and sold it for twelve shillings per quarter.*

"At Chillington, three miles from Lewes, Mr. Nicholas Martin was convicted of having a meeting at his house, and fined 20*l.* for which fine the officer of injustice took from him six cows, two young bullocks, and a horse, being all the stock he had, all of which he recovered again, but not till he had taken a great deal of trouble, and been at more than 23*l.* expense.

"The magistrates at Dover began early to shew their unrighteous zeal against the Baptists. Many of them were violently taken from their meeting-house, committed to prison, and detained in confinement, to the ruin of their circumstances, and great distress of their families. These hardships urged them to petition the King and Duke of York for redress, but no relief was given. At Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire, the justices endeavoured to revive the old practice of punishing hereticks with death. By virtue of a dormant statute made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Mr. Stephen Dagnal, pastor of a Baptist congregation that met at Aylesbury, and eleven of his people, being taken at a meeting, were sentenced to be hanged, and as soon as sentence was passed against

them, officers were sent to their several houses, to seize their goods, and whatever effects of theirs could be found; which order was executed immediately, and great havock was made of what possessions they had; but powerful intercession being made for them at court, by Mr. Kiffin, the king granted them a pardon, and sometime afterward, they were all set at liberty again.

"Great were the sufferings of the Baptists in Gloucestershire, particularly in the neighbourhood of Fairford, Bourton on the water, Stow, and some other places. The most eminent cavaliers, embittered persecutors, rode about armed with swords and pistols, ransacked their houses, and abused their families in a most violent manner.

"In the county of Wilts, and diocess of Salisbury, our brethren were persecuted with great severity. Bishop Ward often disturbed their meetings in person, and encouraged his clergy to follow his example. Informers were every where at work, and having crept into religious assemblies in disguise, levied great sums of money upon ministers and people. Soldiers broke into honest farmers' houses, under pretence of searching for conventicles, and where ready money was wanting, plundered their goods, drove away their cattle, and sold them a great deal under their value. Many of these sordid creatures spent their profits in ill houses upon lewd women, and then went about again to hunt for more prey.

"The Baptist church at Calne suffered much; having been often disturbed when they assembled in their meeting house; in order to avoid fresh troubles, they sometimes met at a mill, called Moses' Mill, a little distance from the town, and at other times under a large white thorn bush upon the brow of a hill, in a field called Shiepfield, about two miles from the town. The bush has ever since been called *Gospel Bush;* but only some very small branches of it remain.

"The Baptists in Lincolnshire were persecuted with savage rage. Not less than one hundred of them were imprisoned, some for hearing, and others for preaching the word of God. They endured not less than three hundred levies for fines. Some for two pence a week, others for 10, 20, 40, and 60l. whereby many were reduced to great poverty, and others driven from home. Presentments and excommunications, they had several hundreds,

and indictments at the assizes and sessions upon the statute for two pence per week, and twenty pounds a month, not less than a thousand.

"Mr. Robert Shalder, of Croft, in the said county, was long confined in prison, and dying soon after his release from it, was interred in the common burying ground amongst his ancestors. The same day he was buried, certain of the inhabitants of Croft, opened his grave, took up his corpse, and dragged it upon a sledge to his own gates, and there left it unburied!

"In short, there was not a protestant dissenting congregation in the kingdom but were grievously harassed, not a zealous Baptist but had a double mess of persecution. From the restoration of Charles II. to the revolution under William III. a space of twenty-nine years, more than sixty thousand people suffered for religion, were plundered of two millions of money,* and eight or ten thousand of them died in gaol. Very many of the sufferers were Baptists; but they cheerfully endured the cross, despising the shame, stood fast in the Lord, and served God acceptably with reverence and godly fear."

These legal robberies and outrageous proceedings appear to have been carried on under the sanction of a Conventicle Act, which received the royal assent in 1670. By this act it was decreed that the preachers or teachers in any conventicle should forfeit twenty pounds for the first and forty for the second offence. And those who suffered any conventicles in their houses, barns, yards, &c. were to forfeit twenty. Smaller fines were levied upon all over sixteen years of age, who were found at conventicles. One third of the money collected of the conventicleers, was to go to the informer or his assistants. This held out a powerful motive to avaricious bigots to pillage their innocent neighbours, and some acquired considerable fortunes from the spoils of the poor afflicted people of God. One Thomas Battison, an old church warden, engaged with much assiduity in this unrighteous mode of procuring wealth. But the indignation of the populace was excited against him, and while he was attempting to distrain the goods of one John Burdolf, in

* Neal, in his history of the Puritans, vol. ii p 759, mentions that the damages sustained by the non-conformists, were two millions in three years. And if they were in the same proportion from the restoration to the revolution, Crosby is not mistaken when he computes the sum total at near twenty millions.

which, however, he did not succeed, they tied a calf's tail to his back, and then derided him with shouts and hatloos, as he was going off to another place. Soon after he took a brass kettle from one Edward Covington; but when he had brought it to the street door, none of the officers would carry it away; neither could he hire any to do it in two hours time, though he offered money to such needy persons among the company as wanted bread. At last he got a youth for sixpence to carry the kettle less way than a stone's throw, to an inn-yard, where he had before hired a room to lodge such goods under pretence to lodge grain; but when the youth had carried the kettle to the inn-gate, being hooted at all the way by the common spectators, the inn-keeper would not suffer the kettle to be brought into his yard; and so his man set it out in the middle of the street, none regarding it, till towards night a poor woman that received alms was caused by an overseer to carry it away.

These proceedings were in the town of Bedford, and although the people were against the distrainers, yet they had law on their side, and made terrible havock with the property of all, who had been guilty of the atrocious crime of meeting in houses and barns to worship the God of heaven.

Our limits forbid us to pursue any further the narrative of the sufferings of our English brethren in these times of cruelty and oppression.

We shall now take notice of some of the most distinguished characters among the English Baptists, from the beginning to the present.

"It was not long after the Particular Baptists had founded distinct churches, when Mr. Hansard Knollis, who had been graduated at Cambridge, formed a Baptist church in London, in the year 1641, and presided over it till his death in 1692. About the same period, Mr. Francis Cornwell, M. A. of Emanuel College, Cambridge, embraced the Baptist sentiments, and became pastor of a church at Marden in Kent.

"Before this, Mr. Benjamin Coxe, a bishop's son, and a graduate of one of the universities, had joined the Baptists, by which he lost all the preferments he might have obtained in the church.

"There were also at this time Mr. Henry Denne, Mr. Christopher Blackwood, Mr. Daniel Dyke, Mr. Francis

Bampfield, and others; who were much distinguished for their learning and usefulness, in the reign of Charles I.

"Another eminent person was Mr. John Tombes, B. D. of whom even his enemies speak in terms of high commendation. Dr. Wall, in his History of Infant Baptism, says, "of the professed Antipedobaptists, Mr. Tombes was a man of the best parts in our nation, and perhaps in any other.

"All these, and many besides, had good livings in the Established Church, but left it either before or at the passing the Act of Uniformity in 1662.

"Another learned man was Mr. Henry Jesse, who had been for several years the pastor of the first Independent Church, but being convinced of the error of infant-baptism, was baptized in 1645, and was a very useful minister in London for many years. He had undertaken and almost completed a new translation of the bible, being dissatisfied with the present received version, on account of the ecclesiastical words introduced or retained by the ecclesiastical divines, at the command of James I. This work he made the master study of his life, and would often exclaim, "O, that I might finish it before I die." This, however, was denied him.

"Another person of great reputation was Charles Maria Duveil, D. D. by birth a Jew, but embracing Christianity. After passing through the church of Rome, and the church of England, he settled as pastor of a Baptist church in Gracechurch street, London. He was much supported by many of the dignified clergy, notwithstanding the change of his sentiments; among whom were Dr. Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester, Dr. Sharp, dean of Norwich, Dr. Tillotson, dean of St. Paul's, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Simon Patrick, bishop of Ely, and William Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph. He published a literal exposition of the gospels of Mark and Luke; also of the Acts of the Apostles and the minor prophets.

"There was Mr. John Gosnold, pastor of a church in Barbican, London; who was eminently learned, and a very popular preacher, much esteemed and valued by men of note and dignity in the established church. He was intimately acquainted with Dr. Tillotson, who was frequently his hearer. Dr. Calamy says, he was bred in the Charter-house school, and in Pembroke-hall, Cambridge; and was afterwards chaplain to Lord Grey.

"Another learned man of this denomination, was the famous Thomas Delaune, who was a minister and schoolmaster in London; and who, it is well known, fell a victim to the cause of non-conformity in the reign of Charles II."

William Kiffin was one of the earliest promoters of the Particular Baptists, and a distinguished minister among them. He was one of the few Baptist ministers, on whom the Disposer of all events saw fit to bestow much of the possessions and honours of the world. He was personally known to both Charles II, and James his successor. Crosby informs us that it was currently reported, that when Charles wanted money, he sent to Mr. Kiffin to borrow of him *forty thousand pounds;* that Mr. Kiffin pleaded in excuse he had not so much, but told the messenger, if it would be of any service to his majesty, he would present him with *ten thousand;* that is, upwards of forty thousand dollars; the which was accepted, and Mr. Kiffin afterwards said he had saved thereby *thirty thousand pounds.* Mr. Kiffin had great influence at court, and was enabled to render essential service to his brethren. By his means the wicked and scurrilous pamphet, entitled, *Baxter baptized in blood*, was examined and condemned; and by his intercession also, twelve Baptists, who had been condemned to death at Aylesbury, received the king's pardon. But with all his wealth and influence he was a meek and modest man.

Two of his grandsons, viz. Benjamin and William Hewling, young gentlemen of great fortunes, of accomplished education, and of eminent piety, were concerned in the ill-timed and ill-fated expedition of the Duke of Monmouth, which terminated in the destruction of almost all who had any hand in it. The grandfather and father of the late Dr. Gifford of London, were also deeply engaged in this unhappy affair. And at this time perished in the flames a distinguished Baptist woman by the name of Elizabeth Gaunt. Her crime was that of harbouring one of the rebels, who, with the basest ingratitude, turned evidence against her. She was condemned for treason, and therefore died rather a patriot than a martyr. But it is said by bishop Burnet, that there was no evidence that she knew that her traitorous guest was a rebel except his own.

But many of the church of England, of Presbyterians, Independents, and Baptists, were zealously engaged for

the Duke of Monmouth, and many fell by the means of the cruel Jeffries and others.

But to return to Mr. Kiffin: He was nominated by James II. for one of the aldermen of the city of London in his new charter. But this was an honour which the old Baptist Elder by no means desired. Waiting on the king by his request he addressed him as follows: "Sire, I am a very old man, and have withdrawn myself from all kinds of business for some years past, and am incapable of doing any service in such an affair to your majesty in the city. Besides, Sire,"——the old man went on, fixing his eyes steadfastly on the king, while the tears ran down his cheeks——"the death of my grandsons gave a wound to my heart which is still bleeding, and never will close but in the grave."

The king was deeply struck by the manner, the freedom, and the spirit of this unexpected rebuke. A total silence ensued, while the galled countenance of James seemed to shrink from the horrid remembrance. In a minute or two, however, he recovered himself enough to say, "Mr. Kiffin, I shall find a balsam for that sore," and he immediately turned about to a lord in waiting.

Mr. Kiffin was now in great trials; to accept the office of alderman was much against his inclination, and to refuse, he had learnt, would be dangerous. "I went," says he, "to the ablest council for advice, and stating my case to him, he told me my danger was every way great, for if I accepted to be an alderman, I ran the hazard of five hundred pounds, and if I did not accept, as the judges then were, I might be fined by them ten, or twenty, or thirty thousand pounds, even what they pleased. So that I thought it better for me to run the lesser hazard of five hundred pounds, which was certain, than be exposed to such fines as might be the ruin of myself and family." Accordingly after waiting some time in suspense, he accepted the office; but things were soon changed by the coming of the Prince of Orange, and this aged minister was relieved from his burdens and snares. Crosby mentions that there were four other Baptists made aldermen at the same time, but I have not learnt their names.

Among the judges and regicides of Charles I. were two eminent men, who afterwards became Baptists. These were Major General Harrison and Col. Hutchinson.

Harrison arose from obscurity to an elevated rank among the heroes of the Commonwealth. He was very desirous to bring the king to trial, and was the officer who conducted the English monarch before the tribunal which sentenced him to lose his head on the scaffold. It was not till some time after this tragical event that he became a Baptist. The same may be said of Colonel Hutchinson. Both of these great men were executed on the restoration of Charles II.

About this time lived the famous Benjamin Keach, author of the Scripture metaphors, and many other valuable works. In 1664 he was prosecuted and sentenced to the pillory, for publishing a work entitled *The Child's Instructer*, or a *New and Easy Primer*. While in the pillory, he among other things said to the spectators, "Good people, I am not ashamed to stand here this day, with this paper on my head. My Lord Jesus was not ashamed to suffer on the cross for me, and it is for his cause that I am made a gazing-stock. Take notice, it is not for any wickedness that I stand here; but for writing and publishing his truths, which the Spirit of the Lord hath revealed in the holy scriptures." A clergyman, who stood by, could not forbear interrupting him, and said, "It is for writing and publishing errors; and you may now see what your errors have brought you to." Mr. Keach replied, "Sir, can you prove them errors?" But before the clergyman could return an answer, he was attacked by some of the people, who told him of his being "pulled drunk out of a ditch." Another upbraided him with having been found "drunk under a hay-cock." Upon this, the people turning their attention from the sufferer in the pillory, laughed at the drunken priest, insomuch that he hastened away with the utmost disgrace and shame.

Mr. Keach was the author of eighteen practical works, some of them large, sixteen polemical, and nine poetical, making in all forty-three; besides a number of prefaces and recommendations for the works of others.

Dr. Gill, who was afterwards pastor of the same church, was the author of upwards of sixty-different works, and among them was an Exposition of the Old and New Testament in nine volumes folio. Dr. Rippon, his biographer, assures us, that had the writings of this eminent man been uniformly printed in the size of his Old and New Testament, they would have made the astonishing sum

total of TEN THOUSAND folio pages of divinity. Well might Mr. Shrubsole give him the title of *Dr. Voluminous.*

I much regret that I cannot give a more general account of the eminent characters, who have appeared at different times among the English Baptists. They, I find, mention among the skilful defenders of their doctrinal sentiments, Piggot, the Stennetts, the Wallins, the Wilsons, Evans, Brine, Gill, Day, Beddome, Francis, Ryland, and Gifford.*

But few of our American Baptists know that John Canne, author of the marginal references in the Bible, Dr. Ash, author of a Dictionary and other classical works, which bear his name, Thomas Wilcox, author of an excellent little piece entitled a Drop of Honey from the Rock Christ, and Winterbottom, author of the View of America, were of their sentiments. Miss Steele, the author of those excellent hymns, which appear in our collections, was, I find by a hint in Morgan Edwards' list, the daughter of a Baptist minister in the county of Hampshire.

At different periods in the seventeenth century, there were many long public disputes held by appointment between the Baptists and Pedobaptists on the subject of baptism; the last dispute of this kind of any considerable consequence, appears to have been held at Portsmouth, in 1699. Mr. John Tombes, Dr. Russel, Mr. Jeremiah Ives, and others, were famous disputants for the Baptists, and Dr. Featly, Mr. Baxter, and Mr. Chandler and others, for the Pedobaptists.

There is a pleasant anecdote related of Jeremiah Ives, in one of his public disputations, of which in the History of Baptism, we promised to give some more particular account. Mr. Ives by his many disputations became so noted that Charles II. sent for him to dispute with a Romish priest. He accepted the invitation and maintained a dispute before the king, and many others in the habit of a clergyman. "Ives pressed the priest closely, shewing, that whatever antiquity they pretended to, their doctrine and practices could by no means be proved apostolical, since they are not to be found in any writings, which remain of the apostolic age. The priest, after much wrangling, in the end replied, "That this argument of Mr. Ives' was of as much force against *infant baptism*, as against the doctrines and

* English Baptist Magazine, No. 21, p. 187.

ceremonies of the church of Rome." To which Mr. Ives replied, "that he readily granted what he said to be true." The priest upon this broke up the dispute, saying, "he had been cheated, and that he would proceed no farther, for he came to dispute with a clergyman of the established church, and it was now evident that this was an Anabaptist preacher." This behaviour of the priest afforded his majesty and all present not a little diversion. Mr. Ives was the pastor of a *baptized* congregation in the *Old Jewry*, between thirty and forty years; was well beloved, and bore a fair character to his dying day.*

We read of another dispute held between a Baptist minister whose name is not mentioned, and a clergyman of the established church. The clergyman insisted that the dispute should be in *Latin;* but the Baptist minister pleaded for its being in *English*, that it might be to the edification of the audience. But the clergyman still persisted in his demand, and laid down his arguments in *Latin*. Fortunately the illiterate Baptist was an *Irishman*, and answered in *Irish*. The clergyman, surprised at the learning of his antagonist, ingenuously confessed that he did not understand *Greek*, and therefore desired him to reply in *Latin*. "Well," says the Baptist, "seeing you *cannot* dispute in Greek, I *will not* dispute in Latin; let us therefore dispute in English, and leave the company to judge." But the pedantic priest still plead for an unknown tongue, and thus the dispute was frustrated.

Many of the Baptists in England have for a long time made laudable exertions to promote the cause of learning among their denomination, and, besides smaller institutions, have established three seminaries, to which they have given the name of Academies. The oldest is at Bristol, the second at Bradford, and the third at Stepney Green, near London.

BRISTOL ACADEMY.

In 1795, Dr. Rippon read before *The Bristol Education Society*, a brief essay towards the history of the Baptist Academy at Bristol, which is inserted in his Register. From this essay I shall select a few sketches of the history of this institution. Its foundation appears to have been laid by the General Assembly of Baptists in 1689. At this convention they resolved to raise a fund or stock

* Crosby, vol. iv. p. 248.

for different purposes, one of which was to assist in the education of young men of promising gifts, &c. The first student, who was educated at Bristol, was Richard Sampson, a member of the church at Plymouth. After he had finished his studies, he became pastor of the church at Exeter where he died in 1716. Mr. Sampson was much esteemed by Sir Isaac Newton; and so strong was his memory, that one day when the conversation turned on the depriving good men again of their Bibles, Sir Isaac said, "they cannot possibly deprive Mr. Sampson of his, for he has it all treasured up within him." The first students of the Academy of which we are speaking were assisted by yearly collections from the churches, and they studied not always at Bristol, but sometimes at London, at Taunton, Tewkesbury, and elsewhere, for as yet no permanent society had been formed to direct the infant institution, nor was it confined to any particular place. Mr. Edward Terrill is considered the father and founder of the Academy, which his benevolence was the means of fixing in the city of Bristol. "He left something considerable to the pastor of the church in Broadmead, for the time being, provided that he were qualified for the business, and devoted a part of his time to the instruction of young students, &c." We soon after learn that Caleb Jope was chosen to educate young men; but with the names of the students who were under his care, says Dr. Rippon, I am totally in the dark.

Bernard Foskett was the next tutor of this rising seminary, and acted in that capacity between twenty and thirty years. The number of students under him was sixty four, just half of them were Welshmen, and the other English. Among these students were Benjamin Beddome, A. M. Benjamin Francis, A. M. Morgan Jones, L. L. D. Thomas Llewelyn, L. L. D. John Ash, L. L. D. Robert Day, A. M. John Ryland, A. M. and Hugh Evans, A. M. who succeeded Mr. Foskett in the presidency of the Academy. Next to him was his son Caleb Evans, D. D. and his successor was John Ryland, D. D. who is still at the head of this important establishment. Respecting the usual number of students in the Bristol Academy, its funds, its library, and other useful appendages of literary institutions, I have not been able to gain any satisfactory information. Neither am I acquainted with its internal economy and regulations. I conclude, however, that none are admitted to this Academy, but such as have either began to preach; or are promising

for the ministry, and that those, who are needy, are supported either wholly or in part, as their circumstances require. Connected with this Academy is the Bristol Education Society, which was formed in 1770, and has contributed greatly towards augmenting its pecuniary resources.

From this Academy have proceeded many useful ministers and eminent characters. Many of them have gone to rest, many are now labouring among the churches in England, and a few of them are in America.

NORTHERN EDUCATION SOCIETY.

This society appears to have commenced about 1804 or 1805. In the last mentioned year it had raised by subscription and contribution a little more than eighteen hundred pounds sterling, not far from *eight thousand dollars*. The resources of this society were then considered sufficient to support eight or nine students besides discharging all other expenses. Rev. William Steadman, formerly of Plymouth Dock, was chosen President of the Academy, which was fixed "for the present at Bradford, a town in Yorkshire, 36 miles S. W. of York, and 193 N. N. W. of London.

I have obtained the proceedings of the annual meeting of this society for 1805, to which is annexed a list of the names of donors and subscribers; the highest upon this list is James Bury of Pendle-hill, who gave the liberal sum of five hundred pounds sterling.

STEPNEY-GREEN—*near London.*

A Baptist Academy was founded at this place, probably about 1810. We learn from the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine, that a house and premises at Stepney Green, near the metropolis, well fitted for an Academy, had been given by a liberal individual, and that exertions were making to establish a third literary institution for the benefit of the Baptist denomination. But what success has attended these exertions I have yet to learn; but it is probable there is, before this time, a well-endowed and flourishing Academy at Stepney-Green.

The exertions of the Baptists in England to promote the missionary cause will be noticed in the account of the India Mission. And besides sending missionaries abroad, they have made exertions to promote itinerant preaching

in destitute places at home. Itinerant societies have been formed, and by them many have been assisted to travel and labour with success in different parts of the kingdom.

We shall now close this account with some general observations respecting the number of churches, Associations, ministers, and members of the Particular Baptists in England.

We have already shown that the number of churches in 1798, was 361; and in 1790, it was 312, and in 1768, it was 217. If they have increased in the same proportion for fifteeen years past, they must now amount to about four hundred and fifty, which, I conclude, is not far from their number. I know of no method by which we can determine, with any degree of certainty, the number of members in these churches. Dr. Rippon, in the notes which are subjoined to his list for 1798, has given the number of upwards of seventy of the smaller churches, which run from eleven to a hundred and forty, but average about fifty-five. But he informs us that the ancient churches in London, Bristol, and elsewhere, contained then from a hundred and fifty, to three and four hundred, and some more. If we compute the number of churches, at four hundred and fifty, and these upon an average to contain eighty members, it will make the sum total of thirty-six thousand; which is probably not far from the number of Particular Baptists in England.

The number of Associations in 1790, was seven, viz. York and Lancashire, Northampton, Midland, Kent and Sussex, Western, Norfolk and Suffolk, and Northern. Since then, have been formed two others called Oxfordshire and Shropshire. In 1790, when there were but three hundred and twelve churches, one hundred and ninety of them were not associated. How many stand unassociated at present, I have not learned.

Many of the churches have no pastors, but in other churches there are a number of ministers besides the pastor, so that on the whole it is probable there are as many ministers as churches.

GENERAL BAPTISTS.

This term has, from the beginning of the reformation, been applied to that class of Baptists in England, who have held universal redemption. The Particular Baptists are strictly Calvinistic in their creed. But those

who are called General, lean to the Arminian system. The former hold that Christ died for the elect only, while the latter plead that the Saviour by his death and sufferings, has made salvation possible for all. Dr. Fuller, the author of *The gospel worthy of all Acceptation*, is a Particular Baptist; some of his brethren have adopted his notion of the atonement, others have opposed it; and the time has been, when he would probably have been turned over to the General side.

Respecting the General Baptists in England, I have been able to gain but very little information. They do not appear to have taken much pains to record their own history, and as no others have paid much regard to them, but very brief sketches can be given of them.

Mr. Ivimey is of opinion that the General Baptists began to found churches in England in the sixteenth century. The church at Canterbury of this persuasion, he observes, is thought to have existed for two hundred and fifty years, and that Joan Boucher, who was burnt in the reign of Edward VI, was a member of it. This is in the county of Kent, and the church at Eyethorn, in the same county, is, according to this author, supposed to have been founded more than two hundred and thirty years.

How the General Baptists progressed for about a hundred years from the founding of their first churches, I find no particular information, only that they, with their brethren of the Particular belief, were loaded with reproaches, and every where exposed to havock and death.

In 1661, soon after the restoration of Charles II. the General Baptists among other dissenters, presented an address to his majesty, and petitioned for some alleviation of their miseries. This address was presented by Thomas Grantham; it was signed by forty-one elders, deacons, and brethren, on behalf of themselves and many others in several counties of the same faith with them, and was said to be owned and approved by more than *twenty thousand*, whether of their communicants, or of their friends and adherents, does not appear. But it is evident that the General Baptists were at this time a large and respectable community, and among their ministers were some of great distinction and usefulness.

By Morgan Edwards' list beforementioned, it appears that in 1768, when there were two hundred and seventeen of the Particular, there were but sixty-nine of the General Baptists, and thirty-three of them were in Kent

and Lincolnshire, the rest were scattered in different parts of the kingdom.

I have not seen any later list of the General Baptists, and have no data by which I can form a very accurate estimate of the number of their churches, ministers, or members. But I conclude that they are much below the Particular Baptists in numbers, energy, and influence.

In 1790, they had three Associations, the Kentish, the Lincolnshire or Old-Connexion, and the Leicestershire or New-Association. And besides these I find mention made of a General Assembly; but whether this Assembly is composed of delegates from the three Associations, or is a distinct connexion, I am at a loss to determine. There are, moreover, a number of churches of the General Baptists, which are not in any associate connexion.

The New or Leicestershire Association in 1790, contained thirty-two churches, twenty-two pastors, twenty-one unordained ministers, and two thousand eight hundred and forty-three members. The church at Loughborough in Leicestershire was the largest, and contained three hundred and eight. Its ministers were Benjamin Polland and William Parkinson. The church of London, of which Dan Taylor was pastor, consisted of two hundred and twenty five. Allowing the other Associations to be as large as this, and that there are a considerable number of churches unassociated, the sum total of the General Baptists may amount to ten or twelve thousand.

"The General Baptist churches are not all properly united in one close body any more than the Particulars." Some believe more and some less of the leading maxims of the General creed. And this may be said of all sects and parties whatever.

The General Baptists appear to have had more learned men, and distinguished characters amongst them in former times than they have at present. Dr. William Russell, Thomas Grantham, Dr. John Gale, and other eminent men, were of this connexion.

Russell and Grantham were contemporaries and fellow-sufferers with Bunyan, Keach, Kiffin, and other distinguished ministers of the Particular Baptists.

WALES.

We have briefly related under the preceding head the account of the ancient British Christians retiring into

Wales, to avoid the persecutions of the pagan Saxons, and of their being visited by the bloody emissary of Rome, St. Austin, who requested them to receive the commandment of the pope, and baptize their children. These christian refugees are upon very good ground supposed to have been Baptists. After they were driven into Wales they enjoyed tranquillity for a length of time, and religion flourished by their means. They formed two large societies of a somewhat peculiar nature; one at Bangor in the north, and the other at Cear-leon in the south. According to Danvers the society or college at Bangor contained two thousand one hundred christians, who dedicated themselves to the Lord, to serve him in the ministry, as they became capable, to whom was attributed the name of the *monks of Bangor*. But this writer assures us they were no ways like the popish monks, for they married, and followed their different callings; those who were qualified for the ministry engaged in the holy employment, while the others laboured with their hands to support them, and to provide for the great spiritual family. But the two great societies at Bangor and Cear-leon, were broken up, and all the Baptists in Wales, who rejected St. Austin's commission, were terribly harassed, and most of them destroyed about the year 600, by the army of Saxons, which the sanguinary saint procured to carry war and wretchedness among them.

For many centuries after this the history of Wales is covered with great obscurity. Our English and Welsh brethren seem inclined to think that Baptist principles lived in this country through all the dark ages of popery, although they do not pretend that those who maintained them remained in a congregated state. The supposition is not altogether improbable; but until some clearer historical evidence can be adduced, it must rest as a matter of opinion. We know that Wales, for a long time, has been a nursery of Baptists. Multitudes have emigrated to this country from that principality, and many of the American churches were founded either wholly or in part by these emigrants. Wales has also supplied the American churches with many useful ministers, many of whom are gone to receive their reward, but some of them are yet actively engaged in this western department of the Lord's vineyard. Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode-Island, Morgan Edwards, Dr. Samuel Jones of Lower-Dublin, (Penn.) Mr. David Phillips, of Washing-

ton county in the same State, Mr. Lewis Richards of Baltimore, and Mr. John Williams of New-York, were all born in Wales. The names of many other ministers of Welsh extraction will occur in the course of this work.

The first Baptist church in Wales, of which we can give any clear account, was founded at Swansea in that country in 1649. The principal man among them was John Miles, who afterwards came to America, and founded the church at Swansea in Massachusetts. The Swansea church in Wales had increased to about three hundred members by the year 1662. Other churches arose in this country soon after the one was founded at Swansea, and in the time of the Commonwealth, they maintained an Association, and published a Confession of Faith, which was publickly opposed by George Fox, the Quaker. But on the restoration of Charles II. their Association was broken up, and they, with all other non-conformists, were made to feel the rod of a persecuting church. When the General Assembly of Baptists met in London, in 1689, it appears there were delegates from only seven churches in Wales. It is probable, however, that there were more churches in the principality at that time, which could not conveniently send delegates so far, or who might not have been convinced of the expediency of the measure.

In Morgan Edwards' list for 1768, the number of Baptist churches in Wales was twenty-three, only one of which was of the General persuasion. In all these churches were about twenty ministers, and two thousand one hundred and ten communicants.

In Rippon's list for 1790, the number of churches had increased to forty-eight, and the number of ministers was much greater. In 1798, the number of churches amounted to eighty-four, in which were ninety-one ministers, who had a pastoral charge, forty-seven who were not ordained, and not less than nine thousand members.

If the Baptists in Wales have increased as fast since the last mentioned date, as they did for a number of years preceding it, there must now be considerably more that a hundred churches, twelve or fourteen thousand members, and not far from two hundred ministers, including such as are not ordained.

There are three Associations in Wales, which are called the East, West, and North.

In Rippon's latest list of the Welch churches, he has specified the year in which each one was constituted. The one at Olchon is dated in 1633, sixteen years before the one at Swansea.

IRELAND.

This catholic kingdom has never contained many Baptists, but yet there appears to have been a few respectable churches in it for more than a hundred and sixty years. At what period Baptist churches began to be founded in Ireland, I cannot learn, but it was probably not far from the year 1650. Ivimey has given an account of a correspondence, which was maintained between the Baptists in Ireland, and England, a little after this period. By a letter from Ireland, in 1653, it appears there were ten Baptist churches in the following places, viz. Dublin, Waterford, Clonmell, Kilkenny, Cork, Limerick, Galloway, Wexford, Kerry, and near Carrick Fergus. Three years after, another letter was sent, signed by Patient, Blackwood, Roberts, Lawern, Seward, Jones, Cudmore, Hopkins, and Thomas, all of whom, I conclude, were ministers. The Baptists appear to have flourished in Ireland during the existence of the Commonwealth; but on the restoration of the persecuting and inglorious Charles II, they doubtless met with trouble; and it is supposed that those ministers, who had gone over from England to that kingdom, were then obliged to return home.

Among the papers left by Mr. John Comer, and preserved by Mr. Backus, I find a letter written from Dublin in 1731, by a Baptist minister, whose name was Abdiel Edwards. By this letter it appears there were then eight or ten churches in Ireland, of the Particular Baptists, besides one of Arminian principles, and another which held to open communion. Mr. Edwards informs his correspondent that the church in Swift's Alley, Dublin, of which he was pastor, consisted of about two hundred members, that it was, for ought he could learn, the oldest in the kingdom, and was formed, as he supposed, about eighty years before, that is, about 1650. He also mentions that the whole number of Baptist communicants then in Ireland, did not exceed four hundred. The number of both churches and members has been less since that time, but of late years they begin to increase.

Ireland has produced some famous statesmen and literary characters, and it also gave birth to that famous Baptist, that champion of non-conformity, Thomas Delaune, whose immortal plea for the non-conformists was republished a few years since, by Elias Lee, pastor of the Baptist church at the Balltown Springs, in the state of New-York.

SCOTLAND.

"It was supposed till very lately, that there never had existed in Scotland a religious society of the Baptist denomination, before the year 1765; but it now appears that this was a mistake, and that such a society did really exist there as far back as about the middle of the seventeenth century, and which used to meet at Leith and Edinburgh. What led to this discovery was a book which lately fell into the hands of a certain person at Edinburgh, entitled, "A confession of the several congregations or churches of Christ in London, which are commonly (though unjustly) called Anabaptists; published for the vindication of the truth, &c. Unto which is added, Heart bleedings for professors' abominations, or a faithful general epistle, (from the same churches) presented to all who have known the way of truth, &c. The fourth impression corrected. Printed at Leith, 1653." To this edition a preface is prefixed by some Baptists at Leith and Edinburgh, which, however, contains nothing of the history of the church, only that they were of the same faith and order with the churches in London. It is dated, "Leith, the tenth of the first month, vulgarly called March, 1652-3," and "signed in the name, and by the appointment of the church of Christ, usually meeting at Leith and Edinburgh, by Thomas Spencer, Abraham Holmes, Thomas Powell, John Brady."

"It is more than probable that this church was composed of English Baptists, who had gone into that country, during the civil wars. In that case it may be supposed that they were chiefly soldiers, as we know of no other description of men so likely to have emigrated from England to Scotland; and it is well known that there were many Baptists in the army which Cromwell led into that country; a good part of which was left behind for the purpose of garrisoning Edinburgh, Leith and other places.

"This church, it is supposed, continued in existence down to the era of the restoration, when, in all proba-

bility, it was dissolved and dispersed, owing either to the garrisons of Leith and Edinburgh, being then withdrawn and replaced by other troops, or else to the violence of the persecution which so notoriously distinguished the execrable reign of the second Charles. Be that as it may, there do not appear, as far as is now known, the slightest traces of so much as one single Baptist church in North-Britain, for more than a hundred years from that period. It was not till the year 1765, that the Baptist profession began again to make a public appearance in that country; its first rise, however, may be traced a little further back."*

In 1763, Robert Carmichael and Archibald M'Lean, conversing together on the subject of infant baptism, were at a loss to find any proper ground for it in the word of God; but being unwilling to relinquish it hastily, it was agreed that each of them should carefully consult the scriptures upon that subject, and communicate their thoughts upon it to each other. Carmichael had been for several years pastor of an Antiburgher congregation, the strictest class of seceders, but had now joined the Glassites. M'Lean was a printer at Glasgow. The result of these examinations was, that both of these men were led to renounce infant baptism. Carmichael was now at Edinburgh. He had been pastor of an Independent society in that city; but for certain reasons, he and seven others had separated from that society, before he became a Baptist. Soon after this separation he became fully convinced of the scripture doctrine of baptism, and preached it publickly. Five of the seven who adhered to him declared themselves of the same mind, among whom was Mr. Robert Walker, surgeon. To obtain baptism in a regular way, it was judged proper that Mr. Carmichael should first go to London and be baptized himself. He accordingly went and was baptized by Doctor Gill, at Barbician, October 9, 1765, and, returning to Edinburgh, administered that ordinance to the five above mentioned, and other two, in November following. Archibald M'Lean then residing at Glasgow, was not baptized for some weeks after; and while at Edinburgh upon that occasion he was much solicited to write an answer to Mr. Glasse's Dissertation on Infant Baptism, which he did in the spring following, but it was not published till the end of that year. A publication of this nature being a novelty in Scotland, awaken-

* Rippon's Register.

ed the attention of many in different places to the subject. In December, 1767, Archibald M'Lean removed to Edinburgh, the church then consisting of about nine members; and in June, 1768, he was chosen colleague to Mr. Carmichael. Soon after this the church increased considerably.

But I am inclined to think there were not more than ten or twelve Baptist churches in Scotland, in 1800. But since that time they have increased greatly. Many Pedobaptist ministers have espoused the Baptist cause, and the doctrine of believers' baptism has had an extensive prevalence within a few years past in the Scottish realm. The converts seem to have come more from the Independent connexion, than the fast-bound Kirk. Among the distinguished characters, in Scotland, who have embraced the principles of the Baptists, we may reckon Robert Haldane, Esq. and Rev. James A. Haldane his brother. The former of these is a gentleman of fortune, and has, for many years, devoted his revenues to the promotion of the cause of truth. By his means many pious young men have been educated and sent forth into the ministry in different directions; and a considerable number of them, have with their patron been buried in baptism, and espoused the principles of the despised Baptists.

I very much regret that I am not able to give a more particular account of the late progress of the Baptist sentiments, and of the present number of the denomination in Scotland.

Mr. Maclay of New-York informs me, that before he left Scotland, he foresaw what has since come to pass, and gave his Independent brethren to understand that he expected many of them would become Baptists. And so it has happened that many of their ministers, multitudes of their members, and in not a few instances almost whole churches have embraced Baptist principles. The Independents and Baptists are very nearly related. Their notions of church government are alike, in doctrine they generally agree, and it is only for an independent to go into the water, and he is a Baptist at once. The Independent churches have always been Baptist nurseries. The Independents are upon the brink of gospel order, and when they are immersed in Jordan they are completely in it.

The present number of Baptists in Scotland I am not able to state; but from all accounts it must amount to many thousands.

INDIA MISSION.

This mission originated in England, and is supported and directed by a society, which was formed about twenty five years ago, by the Baptists in that kingdom.

An interesting account of this important establishment was not long since published in a small volume by Dr. Staughton, of Philadelphia, under the title of THE BAPTIST MISSION IN INDIA, containing a narrative of its rise, progress, and present condition. Very interesting communications from the missionaries in India, are also frequently inserted in the American Baptist Magazine, published in Boston. But for the benefit of those of our brethren, who have not had access to these sources of information, I shall here give a brief account of this noble institution.

As early as 1784, it was resolved by an Association held at Nottingham, in England, to set apart an hour the first Monday evening in every month, for extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion, and for the extending of Christ's kingdom in the world. This was three years before Mr. Carey was ordained. This distinguished man from his first entering on the work of the ministry, directed all his thoughts, plans, and studies towards enterprises of a missionary kind. In 1790, he visited Birmingham and became acquainted with the late Samuel Pierce, whose kindred soul entered with ardour into all his views. Others at the same time were animated with a missionary zeal, and in 1792 the society was formed at Kettering, which has since, by its wonderful acts, astonished the christian world, and made the word of God accessible to millions in India's benighted realm. Its funds at first were only 13*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

About this time, Mr. John Thomas returned from India to England. He went out as a surgeon of an East-Indiaman in 1783. Before he left England he had embraced the gospel under Dr. Stennet. While he was in Bengal, he felt a desire to communicate it to the natives, and being encouraged to do so by a religious friend, he obtained his discharge from the ship; and after learning the language, continued from the year 1787 to 1791

preaching Christ in different parts of the country. But it does not appear that the Baptists in England were at the time acquainted with Mr. Thomas' proceedings. But now they were happy to find that while they had been praying at home for the spread of the gospel among the heathen, one of their brethren had been making the attempt among the wretched Hindoos, and that some success had attended his exertions.

From information received from Mr. Thomas, the committee of this infant society, which at first consisted of John Ryland, Reynold Hogg, William Carey, John Sutcliff, and Andrew Fuller, were fully of opinion that a door was now open for a mission in the East-Indies. They accordingly resolved to invite Mr. Thomas to go out as one of their missionaries. Mr. Carey, whom God, in his wise providence, had fitted for the important part he has since acted, and had brought him into his vineyard at this eventful juncture, was asked if he were willing to accompany Mr. Thomas; to which he readily answered in the affirmative. Thus two missionaries stood ready to depart for the dark and distant coast. "The next step was to calculate the expense of sending them out, and to obtain the means of defraying it. The expense was estimated at 500*l.* which sum required to be raised in about three or four months. To accomplish this the committee frankly stated to the religious public their plan, requesting that so far as it appeared to be deserving of encouragement, they would encourage it. Letters were also addressed to the most active ministers of the denomination throughout the kingdom, requesting their concurrence and assistance. The result was, that more than twice the sum which had been asked for was collected; yet, when the work was finished, the actual expense had so far exceeded the estimate, that there were only a few pounds to spare. One principal cause of this was the circumstance of Mr. Carey's whole family, with Mr. Carey's sister, being induced to accompany him."

In June, 1793, on board the princess Maria, a Danish Indiaman, these missionaries set sail for India, and after the usual passage safely arrived at the place of their destination. During the first years of their residence in this heathen land, they experienced a mixture of trials and encouragements, but on the whole they found sufficient motives for perseverance in the arduous work which they had undertaken.

In the spring of 1796, Mr. John Fountain offering himself as a missionary was accepted, and sent out to join the brethren in India.

As repeated requests had been made for more missionaries, and particularly for one, who should understand the printing business, the committee paid every possible attention to this object. In the spring of 1799, they were enabled to send out four men and four women; namely, Mr. and Mrs. Marshman, Mr. and Mrs. Grant, Mr. and Mrs. Brunsdon, Mr. William Ward and Miss Tidd. Mr. Ward understood the printing business, and Mr. and Mrs. Marshman had kept a school.

In 1802 Mr. Chamberlain and wife departed for India under the patronage of the society.

In 1804 four more young men men with their wives, who had previously been set apart for the work of the ministry, viz, John Biss, Richard Mardon, William Moore, and Joshua Rowe, set sail for India by way of America. After a tedious and perilous voyage, during which they received much kindness from friends, both in America and at Madrass, they all arrived safe at the place of their destination.

The next missionaries were Messrs. Chater and Robinson. These men met with difficulty from government; they were commanded to return to Europe, and Capt. Wickes was refused, at the same time, a clearance, unless he took them back; but after considerable parley, the Captain was furnished with his passports, and a way was devised by the other missionaries to retain Messrs. Chater and Robinson in the country.

In 1812, Messrs. Johns and Lawson with their wives, who had been some time in America, set sail for India. They were accompanied by four Pedobaptist missionaries, viz. Messrs. May, Not, Hall and Rice. Messrs. Judson and Newell of the same denomination had sailed before them. They all landed safely in India, but some of them met with troubles on account of the vexatious policy of the East-India Company. Of these Pedobaptists, Mr. Judson and wife, and Mr. Rice embraced the Baptist sentiments, and were baptized not long after they landed in India. Mr. Judson and his wife repaired to Rangoon in the Empire of Burmah, and have since been joined by a number of other Missionaries from this country, the history of whose proceedings, together with the progress which has been made in the Burman Mission, will be re-

lated towards the close of this work, when we come to speak of the efforts made by the Baptists in America, to send Missionaries to India.

Mr. Rice returned to America, and has been a number of years laboriously employed, and eminently useful in originating Societies, and collecting monies for Foreign Missions.

Since the last mentioned date a few other missionaries have been sent out from England to join the brethren in India, whose names I am not able to mention in their proper order. But the call for ministers from England has become less urgent, since so many native preachers are entering into the vineyard.

A considerable number of those who have been brought to the knowledge of the truth by means of the missionaries, have become preachers of the gospel. Some of these also have died. In 1811, Dr. Carey wrote to Dr. Rogers of Philadelphia as follows: "The Lord has been very gracious in raising up labourers in this work. There are about ten persons, formerly idolaters or mussulmans, who now preach the gospel of our Redeemer, and seven others, native Portuguese or Armenians, who are either called to the work of the ministry, or are now on trial for it. Two of our native brethren, Hindoos, are employed in Calcutta and its precincts, where they preach at twelve or fourteen different places every week, and have been the instruments of the conversion of many. Indeed, I think they are the most useful persons now employed in the work of God at Calcutta, or in India."

We shall now give a brief account of the great things our brethren in India have been enabled to perform.

The missionaries on their first arrival in this country resided at different places; but in 1800, they settled at Serampore, and this place became henceforward the head quarters of all who were concerned in the mission. The first object of attention was to settle a plan of family government. All the missionaries were to preach and pray in turn; one to superintend the affairs of the family a month, and then another. Mr. Carey was appointed treasurer, and keeper of the medicine chest; Mr. Fountain, librarian; Saturday evening was devoted to adjusting any differences which might arise during the week, and pledging themselves to love one another; finally, *it was resolved, that no one should engage in any private trade; but whatever was done by any member of the family, should be done for the benefit of the mission.*

The rent of lodgings which they at present occupied was very high. They therefore purchased a house, by the river side, with a pretty large piece of ground. It had various accommodations, but the price alarmed them; yet the rent in four years would have amounted to the purchase.

In 1801 the missionaries purchased the house and premises adjoining their own. The garden and out-buildings contained more than four acres of land. By this addition they had room not only for the schools, and for the printing and binding business, but also for any new missionaries that might arrive. They made themselves trustees for the society, as they had done in the first purchase.

The missionaries have also purchased a large real estate at Calcutta. Whatever property they obtain belongs to the mission family, and is held in trust by them for the society in England. These are some of the temporal advantages of the missionaries, but those of a spiritual kind are far greater. They found it a laborious task to learn the languages of the country. They first, it appears, made themselves masters of the Bengalee. About the time the mission-house was established at Serampore, Dr. Carey had nearly finished the translation of the Old and New Testament into that language, and preparations for printing having previously been made, in May, 1800, the first sheet of the Bengalee New-Testament was struck off. From that period the missionaries have gone on with great asssiduity and success, in learning other languages, and presenting the precious word of life to the idolatrous natives of the East in their own tongues.

The missionaries have hitherto devoted most of their attention to the translating of the Scriptures into the numerous languages of India, but they have at the same time laboured much among the natives, and a considerable number of them have been hopefully born into the kingdom of God. A number professed a serious regard for the gospel from the first preaching of the missionaries in India; but it was not until the year 1800, that any one of the natives came out and made a public profession of it. In December of that year Kristno was baptized, the first native, who had ever in Bengal publickly renounced *cast*, and owned Jesus Christ. This was an important event. The chain of the East was now broken, and the missionaries saw what they had been waiting and hoping for

many years, and concerning which they had met with so many disappointments.* From this period a few were from time to time brought to make a public profession of christianity, and by the close of the year 1808, about a hundred and fifty had been baptized in different parts of India. About thirty of these were Europeans, who had settled in the country, the rest were natives. Of the natives about ten were Bramins, a few were mussulmans, and the remainder were Hindoos of different descriptions. It is now about ten years since this statement was made, which is found in Staughton's India Misson, and it is probable that a much greater number has been converted in this time, than had been before.

The plan of the Serampore mission is thus stated by Mr. Judson in a letter to Dr. Baldwin, 1812. "All the pecuniary avails of the brethren, as well as monies received from the society in England, belong to the common treasury. Dr. Carey's salary, in the college, of 12,000 rupees per annum;† Dr. Marshman's income from the

* The Hindoos from time immemorial have been divided into tribes or casts. The four principal casts are Bramins, Soldiers, Labourers, and Mechanics, and these are divided into a multiplicity of inferior distinctions. The Bramins are the most noble tribe; they alone can officiate in the priesthood, like the Jewish tribe of Levi. All the different casts are kept distinct from each other by insurmountable barriers; they are forbidden to intermarry, to cohabit, to eat with each other, or even to drink out of the same vessel with another tribe. Every deviation from these points subjects them to be rejected by their tribe, renders them polluted forever, and obliges them from that instant to associate with a herd, who belong to no cast, but are held in utter detestation by all others, and are employed only in the meanest and vilest offices. The members of each cast adhere invariably to the profession of their forefathers; from generation to generation the same families have followed one uniform line of life.

To lose cast is to become subject to an excommunication of the most terrible kind, and for this reason a superstitious Hindoo will suffer torture and even death itself rather than do it

From this we see that the infernal cast, as Dr Fuller calls it, was a most formidable barrier against the introduction of the gospel among the heathen in India Well might the missionaries exult when the chain of the *cast* was broken by Kristno, and the door of faith was opened to these perishing Gentiles.

† The College of Fort-William at Calcutta was founded in 1800, about a year after Mr Carey was honoured by Marquis Wellesley with an appointment of teacher of the Bengalee, Sangskrit, and Mahratta languages in that institution. His salary was 3,000 dol-

school, and Mr. Ward's avails of the printing-press, are as much devoted to the common cause, as receipts from England. Out of the public treasury, each man, woman, and child, belonging to the mission, receives a monthly allowance for clothes, &c. which varies according to age and circumstances from 20 to 4 rupees. The whole family, as well as the boarders, eat at a common table. The table expenses, as well as all the expenses of the mission, arising from building, repairs, servants, pundits, native preachers, &c. are defrayed by appropriations from the public fund. The fund for translating and printing is preserved distinct, in order to secure the subscriptions of some who might be unwilling to contribute to the common object. A missionary in an out-station receives an allowance proportioned to the expense of his situation. Should he be able to lessen this by a school, or by any other means, he is obliged to do so; and should his avails exceed his expenditure, the surplus reverts to the public treasury. Still farther, all the lands and buildings, belonging to the mission at Serampore and elsewhere, are deeded to the society in England. Thus, Sir, you see, that the whole system in all its parts is disinterested. No missionary has any private property. All opportunities, and therefore all temptations to *lay up money*, are effectually precluded. The society at home have the utmost security for the honest application of the money which they remit; and should any wish to satisfy themselves on this point, the cash accounts of the mission are always open to examination."

Mr. Judson states in the same letter that the expenses of supporting a missionary in India, are much greater than people here would generally expect. Mr. Robinson and wife, who were then bound to Java, were allowed an hundred and forty rupees, that is, seventy dollars a month, or eight hundred and forty dollars a year. Mr. Chater and wife and two children in the island of Ceylon were allowed eighty dollars a month, or nine hundred and sixty dollars a year.

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lars a year. When the College was new modelled in 1807, Mr. Carey was made professor of Bengalee, and Sangskrit, with a salary of six thousand dollars a year. Calcutta is fifteen miles from Serampore. At this place there is a Baptist church, and here Mr. Carey mostly resides, pursuing with unwearied assiduity his professional and missionary duties which so harmoniously correspond with each other. Well might he say, "The earth helpeth the woman."

Great charges have attended the prosecution of this mission, the sum total of which I am not able to state. The fund for translating and printing the Scriptures we see is preserved distinct. The giving of the word of life to the heathen in their own languages, is a cause in which party feelings can have no influence; all denominations may, therefore, heartily engage in it, and many benevolent christians have cordially lent their aid. Many wealthy individuals resident in India have contributed towards carrying forward this noble undertaking. A late Mr. Grant in that country a few months previous to his decease bequeathed five thousand dollars for the translations.

The friends of the Holy Scriptures in Scotland, of all denominations, have repeatedly and liberally contributed towards this object.

The British and Foreign Bible Society, that grand and peculiar institution of modern times, had previous to 1811, voted annually for three preceding years, nearly five thousand dollars. The New-York Bible Society have also aided this design. In the years 1806 and 1807, the religious friends in America of different persuasions furnished our brethren in India with about six thousand dollars From 1801 to 1809. the money received from various sources for the translations expressly, amounted to thirty-nine thousand, five hundred and eighty four dollars, and seventeen cents. Great sums have been forwarded since, the amount of which I have not been able to learn. But Mr. Johns previous to his leaving America, collected nearly five thousand dollars, mostly in Boston and Salem. Among the donors in Boston, the Honorable William Phillips gave the liberal sum of one thousand dollars.

The manner in which the Scriptures have been received by the natives will afford satisfaction to the contributors, as it has served to encourage the hearts of the unwearied labourers. Often is the poor Hindoo seated under the shade of the trees, reading "this wonderful book." They come to Serampore from a great distance to inquire about *the new Shaster*. This *Shaster*, say they, will be received by all India. and the Hindoos will become *one cast*. What heart can remain unaffected at the news of these wonderful events!

The expenses of supporting the missionaries exclusive of the translations, have been great; but they have been able to do much for themselves, and what has been want-

ing has been communicated by the society under whose patronage they labour. The brethren in England know how to solicit, and what is still better, the religious public know how to give.

In the beginning of 1812, the missionaries experienced a very heavy affliction by the loss of their printing office, and most of its valuable contents. This building, which was two hundred feet in length, was totally consumed by fire, together with large quantities of books, manuscripts, types, and other printing apparatus. The loss was estimated at thirty thousand dollars to the mission, and five thousand to the Bible Society. "This," says Dr. Carey, "was a heavy blow, not only on account of the pecuniary loss, but as it totally stopped our printing the scriptures in the Oriental languages. The manuscripts consumed will not be all replaced in a long time to come, however hard we labour at them. We however immediately began to recast the types, and to labour to begin printing again as soon as possible. May the Lord stand by us, and enable us to hold on in this great work till it be accomplished, &c."

From these accounts we see that the Baptist missionaries in India have met with great encouragement and success; but they have all along met with many troubles and embarrassments, both from the natives, and many of the unbelieving Europeans who are settled in the country. From the superstitious Indians they had reason to expect opposition, but from their own countrymen they rather hoped for friendship and encouragement. But contrary to this, many have ridiculed their attempts, defamed their characters, and laboured hard to defeat their benevolent designs. But their most serious troubles have arisen from the embarrassing policy of the English East-India Company. This company has advanced from a society of merchants to the sovereignty of the country, and its revenues are superior to that of many crowned heads.* It is a notorious and lamentable fact, however differently it may be explained, that this Company has opposed the introduction of christianity in India. Of this the missionaries have often complained.

The Missionary Establishment at Serampore is mentioned by all who have visited it, with the highest admiration and praise.

The premises are extensive and convenient; the regulations of the Mission Family are wise and salutary; the labours of the Missionaries have been ardent and abun-

* Morse's Geography, vol. II. *555.*

dant; and their plans for future operations are great and promising. They have lately laid a *Plan for a college for the Instruction of Asiatic Christians and other Youth, in Eastern Literature and European Science.* Toward the accomplishment of this desireable object, they have had liberal subcriptions in India; and for the same object they have solicited the aid of the friends of India, in Europe and America, and it is hoped they will not solicit in vain.

In reviewing the progress of the Baptist mission in India, may we not exclaim with gratitude, *What hath God wrought!* Here we see that a small company of men, aided only by the voluntary contributions of religious friends, beset with hosts of adversaries, thwarted often by the unfriendly policy of government, opposed by idolatrous superstitions of immemorial antiquity, have planted the gospel in many parts of India's benighted realm, have presented multitudes, and are ready soon to present multitudes more with the everlasting word of God. May this effulgent lamp of truth dispel the mists of Bramin darkness. May this sharp two-edged sword demolish the Moloch of the East, and lead to the worship of the true God the millions of that land of ignorance and error!

CHAP. V.

MUNSTER.

The Munster affair, like an evil genius, has followed the Baptists all over the world, or at least, wherever they have been found. As all, who have done the Anabaptists the honour of writing their history, have begun and ended with the mad men of Munster, it seems proper that we should say something respecting them, before we close the accounts of the Baptists in foreign countries and ancient times.

We shall in the first place give some account of the insurrections in Germany, and then endeavour to show what hand the Baptists had in them.

The condition of the peasants in Germany in the year 1524, about the time they began to meditate a revolt from the galling yoke of their tyrannical masters, was deplorable indeed, if there be any thing to deplore in a deprivation of most of the rights and liberties of rational creatures.

"The feudal system, that execration in the eyes of every being, that merits the name of man, had been established in early ages in Germany in all its rigour, and horror. It had been planted with a sword reeking with human gore in the night of barbarism, when cannibals drank the warm blood of one enemy out of the skull of another, and it had shot its venomous fibres every way, rooted itself in every transaction, in religion, in law, in diversions, in every thing secular and sacred, so that the wretched rustics had only one prospect for themselves and all their posterity, one horrid prospect of everlasting slavery.

"The great principle of the feudal system, that all lands were derived from, and holden mediately or immediately of the crown, was always productive of unjust and oppressive consequences, tyranny in a thousand shapes, under the names of fines, quit-rents, alienations, dilapidations, wardships, heriots, and the rest, fleeced the unhappy people, deprived them of their property, depressed their spirits, and drove them sometimes to despair and distraction. To these innumerable evils must be added another innumerable mass brought in by popery. Tithes great and small, christenings, churchings, marriage dues, offerings, mortuaries, with a thousand other servile appendages of a horrible system of oppression, were incorporated in a pretended religion, itself the greatest affront that ever was offered to the reason of mankind.

"At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Germany was divided into six circles, and governed by sovereign princes, whose tyrannical oppressions would exceed belief, were they not well attested. Of the great number of good historians, who speak of the rustic war, we have not seen one, who pretends to deny the excessive and insupportable tyranny of the nobility and gentry, or one, who does not expressly affirm, that the peasants groaned under intolerable grievances, which they were no longer able to bear.

"The love of liberty, which is natural to every human being, is of itself an ingenuous and active principle, but it is not unfrequently invigorated by circumstances, and the peasants were emboldened by several favourable circumstances now. The attempt was not only just in itself, and an obedience to an universal and almighty impulse; but in the present case it was countenanced by precedents, and could not be taxed with even the paltry plea of novelty.

"There is," says Hume, "an ultimate point of depression, as well as of exaltation, from which human affairs naturally return in a contrary progress, and beyond which they seldom pass, either in advancement or decline." The German peasants sunk to this ultimate point of depression in different places at different periods, and then they took a contrary direction, and made noble efforts to recover their freedom. Within the memory of the present insurgents, there had been many insurrections, as one against the oppressions of the bishop and canons of Spire, in 1502, another against the tyranny of a neighbouring abbot, in 1491, and several more. The recollection of these encouraged the present peasants to rise. This was their first motive. In the second place, good authors assure us, that they expected aid from their neighbours the Swiss. A third circumstance was the lamentable condition of both church and state. The whole of their wretched lives were spent in earning money for a cruel, profligate, and quarrelsome set of gentry to consume in luxury or war; and as to religious privileges, they had none. A fourth event that animated them, was the example of Luther. Within the last seven years, Luther and his associates had broke out of prison and set tyranny at defiance. All Europe knew this, and as all had as many reasons and as much right as he had, all were agitated, and some acted. Luther had published in 1520 a small tract in German on christian liberty, which was read with the most astonishing avidity, and the contents communicated by such as could read, to others who could not. Many, it appears, carried Luther's maxims of liberty as well as those relating to baptism farther than he did, and much farther than he intended they should. He had renounced the authority of the pope, and at Wittemberg, in the presence of ten thousand spectators, committed to the flames both the bull that had been published against him, and the decretals and canons relating to the pope's supreme jurisdiction. The writings and examples of the Saxon Reformer could not but stimulate the miserable peasants to throw off the enormous load of tyranny under which they groaned. Their plan was fast maturing, and many, who were neither mad men nor monsters, favoured their cause. And as Germany was now agitated by disputes of various kinds, and the ancient barriers of oppression were in many places shaken, this seemed a favourable juncture for the wretched rustics to put in their claim for some por-

tion of that freedom, which is the natural right of every rational being. They were not exclusively Anabaptists, nor Lutherans, nor Catholicks; but they were a mixture of different religious opinions, who had been galled to the quick by the horrid tyranny of their masters, and who, uniting their efforts in one common cause, were determined to be free, or perish in the attempt. But a wise providence saw fit not to favour their designs; they were defeated and ruined, and their names, by a thousand writers, have been loaded with infamy and disgrace.

"In the summer of 1524, the peasants of Suabia, on the estate of count Lutfen, sounded the alarm of a revolt. The counts Lutfen and Furstenberg, and the neighbouring gentry in Suabia, who had all a mutual interest in suppressing the insurrection, and who had entered into a confederacy for another purpose, agreed to suppress them, and Furstenberg, in the name of all the confederates, went to inquire into their grievances. They informed him that they were Catholicks, that they had not risen on any religious account, and that they required nothing but a release from those intolerable secular oppressions, under which they had long groaned, and which they neither would, nor could any longer bear. The second insurgents were the peasants of a neighbouring abbey, and they declared as the first had done, the oppression of the abbot, and not religion, was the cause of their conduct. The news, however, flew all over Germany, and the next spring three hundred thousand men, having more reason to complain than the first had, left off work, and assembled in the fields of Suabia, Franconia, Thuringia, the Palatinate, and Alsace. They consisted of all sorts of peasants, who thought themselves aggrieved in any manner.

"Of all the teachers in Germany at this time, the Baptists best understood the doctrine of liberty; to them therefore the peasants turned their eyes for counsel. Of the Baptists one of the most eminent was Thomas Muncer of Mulhausen in Thuringia. He had been a priest, but he became a disciple of Luther, and a great favourite with the reformed. His deportment was remarkably grave, his countenance was pale, his eyes rather sunk as if he was absorbed in thought, his visage long, and he wore his beard. His talent lay in a plain and easy method of preaching to the country people, whom (it should seem as an itinerant) he taught almost all through the electo-

rate of Saxony. His air of mortification won him the hearts of the rustics. It was singular then for a preacher so much as to appear humble. When he had finished his sermon in any village, he used to retire either to avoid the crowd, or to devote himself to meditation and prayer. This was a practice so very singular and uncommon, that the people used to throng about the door, peep through the crevices, and oblige him sometimes to let them in, though he repeatedly assured them, that he was nothing, that all he had came from above, and that admiration and praise were due only to God. The more he fled from applause, the more it followed him. The people called him Luther's curate, and Luther named him his Absalom, probably, because *he stole the hearts of the men of Israel.* Muncer's enemies say, all this was artifice. It is impossible to know that. The survey of the heart belongs to God alone. This was not suspected till he became a Baptist. They say he was all this while plotting the rustic war; but there was no need to lay deep plots to create uneasiness—the grievances taught the peasants to groan, and rise, and fight before Muncer was born, and nobody ever taxed him with even knowing of the first insurrections now. The truth is, while Luther was regaling himself with the princes, Muncer was preaching in the country, and surveying the condition of their tenants; and it is natural to suppose he heard and saw their miserable bondage, and that on Luther's plan there was no probability of freedom flowing to the people.

"Muncer's doctrine all tended to liberty; but he had no immediate concern in the first insurrections of the peasants. It was many months after they were in arms before he joined them; but knowing their cause to be just, he drew up for them that memorial or manifesto, which sets forth their grievances, and which they presented to their lords, and dispersed all over Germany. This instrument is applauded by every writer who mentions it, as a master piece of its kind. Mr. Voltaire says, *a Lycurgus would have signed it.* It was the highest character he could have given it. Some, by mistake, ascribe it to Stapler.

"This manifesto consists of twelve articles, in which are set forth the grievances of the peasants, and the redress which they required, and on the grant of which they declared themselves ready to return to their labours.

I. The first sets forth the benefit of public religious instruction, and they pray that they may be permitted to elect their own ministers, &c.

II. The second represents that the laws of tithing in the Old-Testament ought not to be enforced under the present economy, &c.

III. The third sets forth, that their former state of slavery was disgraceful to humanity, and inconsistent with the condition of people freed by the blood of Christ; that they were determined to be free, not from the control of magistrates, whose office they honoured as of divine appointment, and whose just laws they would obey; that they did not desire to live a licentious life after their own sinful passions; but they would be free, and not submit to slavery any longer, unless slavery could be proved right from the Holy Scripture.

IV. The fourth shews, that they had hitherto been deprived of the liberty of fishing, fowling, hunting, and taking animals wild by nature; which prohibition was incompatible with natural justice, &c

V. The fifth sets forth, that the forests were in the hands of a few great men, to the inexpressible damage of the miserable poor, &c.

VI. The sixth sets forth the various hardships of base and uncertain villenage, the innumerable and ill-timed services, which the lords obliged their tenants to perform, &c.

VII. The seventh complains of abuses in regard to such tenures of farms, lands, and tenements, as were called beneficiary, &c.

VIII. The eighth article regards the rents of the farms, held from year to year, &c.

IX. The ninth complains of the wanton exercise of the power of making and executing penal statutes, &c.

X. The tenth sets forth, that formerly there was reserved in every village in Germany, commons which had been granted to the inhabitants; that now they were monopolized and held as private property to the total exclusion of the poor, &c.

XI. The eleventh complains, that the demand of heriots is the most unjust and inhuman of all oppressions; that the affliction of the widow and children for the loss of their father and friend, appointed by Heaven to be their guardian, made no impression on the officers, &c.

XII. The last article says, that this memorial contains their present grievances; that they are not so obstinately attached to these articles, as not to give up any one on receiving conviction that it was contrary to the word of God; that they were ready to admit any additions agreeable to truth and scripture, tending to promote the glory of God, and the good of mankind; and that though this memorial contained a list of their present grievances, yet they did not mean by this to preclude the liberty of making such future remonstrances as might be found necessary.

These are the infernal tenets, the damnable anabaptistical errors, (garbled and recorded by their enemies too) which the Pedobaptists of all orders, from Luther to the

present time, have thought fit to execrate under all the most monstrous names that malice and rage for persecution could invent. For almost three hundred years hath this crime of the Baptists been visited upon their descendants.

Thus we see that the Rustic War was not a wanton and heedless rebellion of unprincipled men, but was, on the contrary, a serious and patriotic attempt to throw off a cruel and excessive yoke, which could no longer be borne. "And had they succeeded, ten thousand tongues would have celebrated their praise. Indefatigable writers would have sifted every action to the bottom, tried the cause by rules of equity, examined the credibility of every witness, and would not have suffered improbable, contradictory, and even impossible tales, told by ignorant and interested men, to have seized the credit and honour, which are due to nothing but impartial truth. If the procuring of liberty for three hundred thousand wretched slaves, and their posterity, had been accompanied with some imperfections, and even with some censurable actions, the latter would have been attributed to an unhappy fatality in human revolutions, and in comparison with the benefits thrown into the great scale of human happiness, they would have diminished till they had totally disappeared."

The populous city of Munster was taken by these revolutionists in 1533, and held by them about three years: But in the year 1536, was retaken after a seige of fourteen months, by Count Waldeck, the bishop and sovereign of the place, &c. This worldly ecclesiastic was doubtless assisted by the other princes of Germany. John of Leyden, who had been appointed the king or chief magistrate of the city, was put to a most painful and ignominious death, the confederacy of the peasants was broken, and multitudes of them suffered death in the most cruel and tormenting forms. Vengeance and havock every where pursued those who had been any ways concerned in the Rustic War.

We shall now close our observations on the affair of Munster. The sum and substance of the matter as represented by the adversaries of the Baptists, is, that they had no existence in the christian world until the beginning of the sixteenth century; that then they originated all at once, in a stormy, seditious period, out of the scum of the reformation, and increased so rapidly, that in a very short time, they led about a quarter of a million into the field

to defend and propagate their opinions, and that a hundred thousand of them were slain!!! The sum and substance of the matter as understood and conceded by the Baptists, we have already stated. We have shown before, that our denomination did not originate with the tumults of Germany, but with John the Baptist, in the land of Palestine, fifteen hundred years before they happened. It is hoped that no Pedobaptist will in future follow us with the riot of Munster, or the seditions of Germany; but if they do, we can only inform them, that we shall consider, as we always have done, that for the want of argument they resort to slander.

We have thus endeavoured to give a general view of our Baptist brethren in countries abroad and in times of old; and we have seen that they have generally been described by all historians, as a dangerous set of men, whose principles lead to rebellion and sedition, and that for this reason they have been proscribed in some governments, banished from others, and in others burnt and drowned, and allowed to live no where only as a matter of favour and indulgence. Why should they thus be universally abhorred and persecuted? Baptism is a thing so inoffensive in itself, that if it were repeated every month, no serious consequences could follow to any one, except to the person baptized. There must be something more than water in this affair; and that something is, that the Baptists have held from time immemorial that the civil magistrate hath no right to give or enforce law in matters of religion and conscience. This principle has been at the bottom of all their sufferings in every age. And this principle hath subjected the Quakers and Independents, properly so called, to the terrible persecutions, which they have at different times endured. The Baptists, Independents and Quakers have each their peculiarities, but they are the best qualified to live together of any three sects in christendom; for they all separate religion from civil patronage, they are each willing that every one should be his own judge in matters of conscience, and all that either of them has ever asked of civil government is, to be let alone.

We shall now turn our attention to the American shore.

CHAP. VI.

A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS IN AMERICA.

EPOCH FIRST.

In [illegible] 1492, October the 12th, this part of the [illegible]astica[illegible] called America, was discovered by Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, in the service of the king of Spain. The first land made by this adventurer, was one of the Bahama Islands, to which he gave the name of San Salvador. Thus a new world was discovered, in which much cruelty and oppression have been practised, especially by the merciless Spaniards; in which much liberty and happiness have been enjoyed; and in which there have been many signal displays of the grace of God. Settlements were made in many parts of the American continent before any were effected in that portion of it which is now included in the United States.

Most of the first settlers of America were merely worldly adventurers, who were induced to encounter the dangers of a distant voyage, and the hardships of a wilderness from the prospects of temporal advantages. Those who came from England, which was by far the greatest number, were for the most part Episcopalians. There were, however, intermixed in almost all the different companies of emigrants, dissenters of different names, and among them we have reason to believe there were of the Baptists a few.

It does not appear that there were in any of the colonies, any religious establishments, which acquired much permanency, or that carried their acts of intolerance to any considerable degree, except in Virginia, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. The Episcopal church was the established religion of the Carolinas, but it had neither the spirit nor power of persecuting dissenters, to any great extent. Maryland was founded by Roman Catholicks; but they, different from their brethren in the old world, were always tolerant and mild. Pennsylvania was founded by Quakers, who, like the Baptists in Rhode-Island, would never establish any religious laws, and of course there could be no religious persecutions. New-York and New-Jersey were settled by a mixture of peo-

ple of many nations and religions, but it is probable a majority of the settlers were Episcopalians. I do not find that there ever was any religious establishment in New-Jersey; but I am inclined to think that Episcopacy was for a time the established religion of New-York. Mr. Wichenden of Providence, Rhode-Island, was imprisoned there four months for preaching the gospel, sometime before the year 1669; and in the year 17[illegible] the Baptist meeting-house, then newly built, was licen[illegible] entered as the toleration act required. These [illegible]he create an ecclesiastical establishment; but I do not [illegible] as prosecuted with much rigour, and it has no[illegible]n so long done away, that there are probably but fe[illegible] who know that it ever existed.

Episcopacy took deep root in Virginia, and an account of its spirit, its measures, and end, will be given in the history of the Baptists in that State. Rhode-Island has always from first to last maintained, and gloried in maintaining, liberty of conscience, in the strictest and most unqualified sense; and accordingly none of its records are stained with laws to regulate religious worship, or with acts to oppress or favour dissenters.

New-Hampshire and Vermont have done but little in the outrageous business of distressing the persons and spoiling the goods of dissenters; and the newer States have altogether let alone this wretched work. We must now come to Massachusetts and Connecticut, and with pain we must relate that these States, which were planted by a religious Colony, and which have been the nurseries of much piety and virtue, have, notwithstanding, been the most distinguished of any in the Union, for intolerance and oppression. In these States, ecclesiastical establishments have taken the deepest root of any part of the American empire; they have been defended by the civil power, and have manifested an unwavering and obstinate perseverance in enforcing their iniquitous maxims, and in encroaching on the liberties, and despoiling the goods of dissenters.

The spirit of the church was sometimes high in Virginia, and for a while persecution raged with violence; but it was carried on chiefly by a band of unprincipled churchmen, whose main object seems to have been, to molest the persons and disturb the meetings of dissenters.

But the New-England persecutors have taken generally a different course. They have had their eyes on the goods

of dissenters more than on their persons. If they would but pay their parish taxes, they might worship when and how they pleased. But if any one was so heretical as to refuse his money towards building a meeting-house within the parish lines, which might happen to encircle him, or to support a preacher which he never chose, nor wished to hear, then he must look out for writs, constables, sheriffs, courts, priests and lawyers, stripes, prisons, and forfeitures, and the whole sanctimonious procession of ecclesiastical tormentors. So rigorous were the New-England lawyers in enforcing their taxing laws, that Esther White of Raynham, about thirty miles from Boston, was thrown into prison for a ministerial tax of *eight-pence*, which she refused to pay, because she had separated from the parish worship. After lying in prison almost a year, she was let out without paying the tax, by those who put her in.*

The American war was peculiarly auspicious to the cause of religious liberty in Massachusetts, and the other Colonies, where religious establishments were enforced with rigour. All denominations unitedly engaged in resisting the demands of Great-Britain. But her demands were no more unreasonable nor unjust, than those which the predominant party, whether Congregational or Episcopalian, made on dissenters. The Baptists and other dissenters did not fail to make a proper use of this argument. And although many attempted to explain it away, yet many others saw and acknowledged its force.

Many of the first settlers of New-England were pious and worthy men, among them however were many of a different character; but they all united in building up the New-England church establishments.

The first Pedobaptist churches here required the candidates for admission, to give a verbal account of their religious experience. But in process of time they were permitted to give in their relations in writing, and this practice is still continued by those churches which require any experience at all. The ancient church of Plymouth changed their way of receiving members from verbal to written relations in 1705.† Others had probably done it before.

* Backus' Church History, Vol. II. p. 194.

† Vol. I. p. 47. Vol. II. p. 29.

The great mistake of the New-England fathers lay in taking the laws of Moses for the commands of Christ, and blending the Jewish and Christian dispensations together. And indeed from this source have originated all the evils which have overrun the christian world, and deluged it with blood. By this means, unholy men are entrusted with the regulation of religious concerns. They know nothing of its nature, they feel nothing of its power, and under their dominion the saints of God have always had occasion to say, "for thy sake we are killed all the day long."

The New-England people at first supported their ministers in a voluntary way, probably by weekly contributions. But in 1638, a law was made that every inhabitant, who would not voluntarily contribute his portion, &c. should be compelled thereto by assessment and distress, to be levied by the constable or other officer of the town as in other cases. This was the beginning of that iniquitous policy which has caused the Baptists in New-England so much vexation and distress.

The beginning of our brethren in America will be related under the head of each respective State, and the banishment of Roger Williams may be found under that of Rhode-Island. The church which he founded at Providence, in 1639, was the first of the Baptist denomination in the American continent. The first church in Newport, Rhode-Island, founded in 1644, by Dr. John Clark, was the second; the second in that town, formed in 1656, was the third; the church in Swansea, begun by John Miles, in 1663, was the fourth; and the first in Boston, founded first in Charlestown, in 1665, by Thomas Gould, was the fifth. In forty years from the founding of the last mentioned church, there arose eleven more in the following order; Seventh-Day, Newport, 1671; Tiverton, Rhode-Island, 1685; Middletown, New-Jersey, 1688, Pennepeck, now called Lower-Dublin, Pennsylvania, 1689; Piscataway, New-Jersey, the same year; Charleston, South-Carolina, 1690; Cohansey, New-Jersey, 1691; 2nd Swansea, 1693; Welsh-Tract, Delaware, 1701; Groton, Connecticut, 1705; Seventh-Day, Piscataway, New-Jersey, 1707; The first church in Philadelphia was in reality formed in 1698, although it has generally been dated in 1746, when it was re-organized.

Thus in almost a hundred years after the first settlement of America, only seventeen Baptist churches had

arisen in it. Nine of them were in New-England. Of these seventeen churches, only four, that is, the three in Massachusetts, and the one in Connecticut, were put to any trouble on account of their religious principles; and of these four, the one at Boston felt most of the hard hand of civil coercion. This church was treated in a most oppressive and abusive manner, as will be shown in the history of Massachusetts.

EPOCH SECOND.

In 1707, the Philadelphia Association was formed of the five following churches, viz. Pennepeck, Middletown, Piscataqua, Cohansey, and Welch Tract. This Association was the first in America; it has always maintained a regular and respectable standing, and has been from its commencement to the present time one of the most important institutions of the kind.

From 1707 till 1740, about twenty new churches were raised up in different parts of the United States; some were of an Arminian cast; but most of them adopted the Calvinistic faith. Three or four became extinct in a few years, but the rest remain till the present time.

During the period under consideration, no very remarkable event appears to have occurred. The churches in New-England, except those in Rhode-Island, were persecuted and fleeced; those in other parts were left at liberty to serve God, and dispose of their property as they pleased.

EPOCH THIRD.

About 1740, a very powerful work of grace began in New-England, and prevailed much in other parts of the United States. It was, by way of derision, called the *New Light Stir*. This work commenced under the ministry of that honoured servant of God, the famous George Whitefield, who was then travelling as a flaming itinerant along the American coast. "The most remarkable things," says a late writer, "that attended the preaching of Mr. Whitefield was the power of the Holy Ghost." Multitudes were awakened by his means and brought to bow to the sceptre of Immanuel. Many ministers opposed his course, but many others caught his zeal, ran to and fro with the tidings of salvation, and knowledge was almost every

where increased. This work began generally among the Pedobaptists, and where they opposed it, separation ensued. And here originated the term Separates, which was first applied to Pedobaptist and afterwards to Baptist churches. Separate churches were formed all over New-England. In many parts of the country there was hardly a town or parish in which they were not to be found. Some pushed on their zealous measures to an enthusiastic extreme, but most of them acted a sober and rational part; their views were highly evangelical, and their maxims of gospel discipline were generally clear and consistent. They permitted all to exhort, who had gifts, to edify their brethren; they ordained ministers of those who were instructed in the mysteries of the kingdom, whether they were learned or not. They took the Bible alone for their guide, and, of course, Baptist principles soon prevailed amongst them. Very singular scenes were soon exhibited in New-England. Pedobaptists were seen persecuting their brethren, and casting them into prison because they were too religious. The clergy of Connecticut determined that the *New Light Stir* was not *according to law;* they therefore stimulated their rulers to attempt its regulation. A law was actually made to prohibit one minister from going into the parish of another, to preach and exhort the people, unless he were particularly invited. Upon this law a number of their own ministers were prosecuted, and Mr. afterwards Dr. Finley, President of Princeton College, New-Jersey, was transported as a vagrant person, from one constable to another, out of the bounds of the land of *steady habits.*

We have already observed that Baptist principles soon began to prevail among the Pedobaptist Separates. All their doctrine tended that way, and those who followed it whither it led, embraced believers' baptism. Many Baptist churches arose out of those separate societies, and the late venerable Backus of Middleborough, Hastings of Suffield, and a number of other Baptist ministers, were at first of their connexion.

Towards the conclusion of the American war, and for a number of years subsequent to the termination of that serious conflict, there were very extensive revivals of religion in different parts of the land, and Baptist principles almost every where prevailed. In the year 1780, according to Mr. Backus, there were not less than two thousand persons baptized in the New-England States only. In

ten years, beginning with 1780, and ending with 1789, considerably over two hundred churches were organized in different parts of the United States. During this period a number of ministers, and with them a considerable number of brethren, fell in with Elhanan Winchester's notion of Universal Restoration. The rage for this doctrine prevailed for a time to a considerable extent; but it was at length found to be easier to let sinners down into a disciplinary purgatory, than it was to get them out again, and this visionary scheme is now generally exploded by all, among the Baptists at least, who profess any regard for gospel truth. Those ministers who embraced it, generally descended to other errors of a blasting nature, or else sunk into obscurity and insignificance. Mr. Winchester, the author, or rather reviver of it in modern times, was for a while a very popular preacher among the Baptists. He was indeed in some respects, and particularly in memory, a prodigy of nature, and his talents and address were such, that he was sure to command followers and applause of some kind or other, wherever he went, and whatever he preached. His theory of Universalism was borrowed from a German author, to which he added some things from the reveries of his own eccentric imagination. His scheme appears never to have been well digested, and it is thought by many, that he would have abandoned it, had it not been for the difficulty of saying, *I was mistaken.* But he died rather suddenly in the midst of his singular career, and those, who knew him best, entertain different opinions, respecting his acquaintance with the religion of the heart.

In 1790, John Asplund published his first Register of the Baptist denomination in America. This singular man had, in eighteen months, travelled about seven thousand miles, chiefly on foot, to collect materials for this work. It was a new attempt of the kind in America, and is as correct as could be expected. By this it appears, there were, at the date of it, in the United States, and in the Territories, eight hundred and sixty eight churches, eleven hundred and thirty two ministers, including those who were not ordained, and sixty-four thousand, nine hundred and seventy-five members.

EPOCH FOURTH.

Mr. Asplund continued travelling after he published his first Register, until 1794, when he published a second.

By this it appears, that our brethren in some States had increased greatly, in others they remained pretty much as they were in 1790. Since Asplund published his last Register, a number of computations have been made of the extent of the Baptist interest in America, but no list of the churches has been attempted, until it was undertaken by the author of this work: An abstract list of which will be given at the close of the work.

Since the close of the war, not many of our brethren have been troubled on account of their religious opinions. In Connecticut and Massachusetts, they are in many cases still obliged to lodge certificates, &c. and by complying with this small but mortifying requisition, they may remain unmolested, and be entirely excused from all imposts of a religious nature.

Believer's baptism by immersion has prevailed much in the United States, within ten or twenty years past. Multitudes of the Methodists have adopted it, and not a few of the Congregational ministers in New-England have condescended to go into the water with those candidates, who could be contented with nothing short of immersion. In Virginia and the southern States, there has been a great schism in the Methodist church. A large party has come off, which denominate themselves *Christians.* A similar party has separated from the Presbyterians and Methodists in Kentucky, and the western States, and a great number of these *Christian* people have lately been buried in baptism.

On the whole it appears, that baptism is fast returning to its primitive mode. A general conviction seems to be prevailing, that infant sprinkling is an invention of men, and ought to be laid aside; and that believers are the only subjects of the baptismal rite, and that immersion is the only way in which it ought to be administered. Of late years a considerable number of ministers of the Pedobaptist order, have come over to the Baptist side; some whole churches, and many parts of others have done the same; and we look forward to the time, when there shall be with the saints of God, but *one Lord, one faith, and one baptism.*

CHAP. VII.

NOVA-SCOTIA AND NEW-BRUNSWICK.

THESE two British provinces occupy a large extent of territory to the east and north-east of the State of Maine. There are now, in both of them, upwards of forty Baptist churches, most of which have been organized within the course of twenty years past.

At the close of the French war, about fifty years ago, many families emigrated from New-England, and settled in different parts of these two provinces, which, at that time, were all included under the name of Nova-Scotia. Among these emigrants were some Baptists, and from that period there have always been a few of the denomination in the country.

In 1776, and a few succeeding years, there was a very great attention to the things of religion in Nova-Scotia; the work was promoted chiefly by a zealous young preacher, whose name was Henry Alline, whose history will be more fully related in its proper place. This work, in some respects, resembled the New-Light Stir in Whitefield's time. By the labours of Henry Alline and his zealous associates, many churches were formed of the Congregational order; most of them, however, have now become extinct, and Baptist churches have arisen in their stead.

For most of the historical facts respecting the Baptist interest in Nova-Scotia, I am indebted to Mr. Edward Manning, pastor of the Church at Cornwallis. Some sketches have, however, been forwarded by Messrs. Burton and Dimock; some verbal communications were made by Mr. Ries, now in Baltimore, and a few facts have been ascertained from Backus' history and Leland's M S S. but most of the following statements are made upon the authority of Mr. Manning, who has taken much pains to furnish materials for this work.

According to the best information, the first Baptist church, which ever existed in either of these provinces, was transported and established in the following manner.

In the year 1763, immediately after the conclusion of the French war, Nathan Mason and wife, Thomas Lewis and wife, Oliver Mason and wife, and a sister by the name of Experience Baker, all of the 2d church in Swansea,

Bristol county, Mass. Benjamin Mason and wife, Charles Seamans and wife, and Gilbert Seamans and wife, from some of the neighbouring churches, resolved on removing to Nova-Scotia. And with a view to their spiritual benefit, these thirteen persons were formed into a church, on the 21st of April, 1763, and Nathan Mason was ordained their pastor. Soon after, this little church sailed in a body for Nova-Scotia, and settled at a place now called Sackville in New-Brunswick. Here they continued almost eight years, enjoying many spiritual blessings, and witnessing much of the goodness of the Lord, in this new and remote situation. Elder Mason laboured here with good success, and the little church increased to about 60 members, and Mr. Job Seamans, formerly pastor of the church in Attleborough, Mass. now of that of New-London, N. H. was converted and began to preach among them. But the lands and government not meeting their approbation, and finding themselves uncomfortable in other respects, in 1771 the founders of the emigrating church with Elder Mason removed back again to Massachusetts, and settled at a place called New-Providence, now in the township of Cheshire, in Berkshire county.

This account of Elder Mason's success in Nova-Scotia, was furnished some years ago by Mr. John Leland of Cheshire, which I found among Mr. Backus's papers. What became of the converts, whom Mr. Mason left behind, I do not find; but it is probable that they were scattered, and the church broken up after the founder had left them. Some further account of the Baptists in this place will be given in its due order.

Horton.—Not long after the settlement of the church at Sackville, an Elder Moulton from one of the New-England States, began to preach at Horton. His preaching was attended with success, and in a short time a church was formed consisting of Baptists and Congregationalists. What became of Mr. Moulton I do not find; but the church did not enjoy much prosperity, until it was revived under the ministry of Henry Alline. This zealous minister was cordially received among them, and the church adopted his maxims of discipline. They travelled but a short time, however, in fellowship with his New-Light connexion, before they made choice of a Mr. Piersons, a native of England, for their minister, who induced them to give up their mixed communion plan, and settled them on the close communion plan. But in a

short time, by the influence of one of their deacons, they broke down all their bars, and again admitted unbaptized persons to their communion. In this practice they continued until 1809, when a reformation was again effected, which is likely to be permanent.

About the year 1790, Elder Piersons removed to Hopewell, New-Brunswick, where he died shortly after.

A few years after Mr. Piersons' removal, the church made choice of Elder Theodore S. Harding, for their pastor, in which office he continues to the present time. He had been a Methodist preacher, but was baptized and ordained by Mr. Burton of Halifax, soon after his settlement in that city.

Newport.—This town received its name from Newport on Rhode-Island, from which most of the planters of it emigrated. While Mr. John Sutton was in Nova-Scotia, he preached some time in Newport and baptized a few persons; but he soon left the country, and returned to New-Jersey. Shubal Dimock is said to have been one of the principal promoters of religion in this town. He was a native of Mansfield in Connecticut, and was brought up a Presbyterian. But when he was brought into the light of the gospel, he found himself under the necessity of dissenting from the parish worship, for which he was oppressed and plundered; and this oppression lead him to seek an asylum elsewhere. Accordingly in 1760, he removed to Nova-Scotia, and settled at Falmouth, where he tarried about a year. He then removed to Newport, where he spent the remainder of his days. He became a Baptist about the year 1775. He was a man of eminent piety, and occasionally preached. His eldest son Daniel was a Baptist in sentiment before he left Connecticut, but was not baptized till he settled in Nova-Scotia, when that rite was administered to him by Mr. Sutton about 1763. This man was also a preacher, and preached until within a few days of his death. Joseph Dimock, pastor of the church in Chester, is his oldest son.

The two Dimocks, Shubal and his son Daniel, united with the church in Horton, but laboured much to promote religion in their own town. But it does not appear that any Baptist church was formed here until the year 1800. The father died about ten years before this period, and the son about four years after it. Mixed communion was the prevailing custom among most of the Nova-Scotia

Baptists, when the church in this town was formed, and it fell in with the practice, continued it a short time, and then gave it up.

The Newport church has waded through many trials, from its disputes respecting the terms of communion, but more on account of the ill conduct of its late pastor, William Delany, whose labours where, for a while, attended with much success, but who, a short time since, fell into the sin of drunkenness, and was excommunicated from the church. This shipwreck of their pastor, by causing divisions, had like to have destroyed their visibility as a church; but they have since recovered, in a good degree, from this painful shock, and although they have no settled minister, bid fair to be one of the most flourishing churches in the province.

Cornwallis.—This church is situated in a large township of the same name in King's county, on the southern shore of the strait, which connects the Basin of Minas with the Bay of Fundy. The history of this church will lead us back to the year 1776, when Henry Alline began his New-Light ministry in Nova-Scotia, and established a church here upon his plan, over which he was ordained pastor; and under this head it may be proper to say what we propose to of this extraordinary man, and of the mixed and zealous community, which he was instrumental in raising up.

Henry Alline was born of respectable and pious parents, in Newport, R. I. June 14, 1748. In 1760, the family removed from Newport to Nova-Scotia, and settled at Falmouth. He was early instructed in the principles of the christian religion, and when about 8 years old, according to his own account, as stated in his journal, his mind was seriously impressed with a sense of divine things. From this early period it appears that convictions followed from time to time, until they terminated in a sound conversion; which happened in March, 1775, when he was almost 27 years old. Soon after his conversion his mind was lead to the work of the ministry. Having always been taught to believe that learning was absolutely necessary to qualify men for this important undertaking, he resolved on going to New-England to solicit the aid of his friends and relations there, towards obtaining it. Pursuant to this resolution, he took leave of his friends, and actually proceeded some distance on his journey. But Providence hedged up his way by a number of insur-

mountable obstacles, and he returned. This was in the close of the year in which he was converted. After passing through many trials, occasioned by the struggles of his own mind, and the solicitations of his friends, some urging him to go in pursuit of learning, others to engage in the ministry without it, he, the next spring, began to preach. His first efforts were crowned with such remarkable success, that he was encouraged to proceed. He soon began to travel extensively, revivals of religion almost constantly attended his ministry, and for about eight years he was abundantly owned of God, as the instrument of the conversion of souls. He was much beloved by his friends, and was much abused and persecuted by many, who unreasonably became his enemies. And notwithstanding some errors in his creed, he was a bright and shining light through the dark regions of Nova-Scotia.

Mr. Alline was brought up a Congregationalist, and from that community he never separated; but he outstripped most of his brethren in his ardent zeal, and evangelical exertions, which soon procured for him the appellation of a New-Light.

His notions of gospel discipline were confused and indefinite. The external order of the gospel, and particularly baptism and the mode of it, he professed to view with great indifference. He baptized but little himself; but was willing his followers should practise what mode they chose; and if they could be easy in their minds, under the entire omission of the ordinance, he considered it rather their felicity than neglect; but if their minds dwelt much upon baptism, he advised them to go forward in what mode they chose, that they might thereby quiet the troubles of their minds, and so forget the things which were behind, and be prepared for the calm and undisturbed enjoyment of the things of God.

Such instructions from a leader, we might naturally suppose would lead to confusion among his followers.

Mr. Alline also plunged into some speculations on theological points, which he could not have fully understood, as it would have puzzled a Jesuit to define them. But with all the exceptions to his maxims and doctrine, he was undoubtedly a man of God, and his labours were crowned with remarkable success; he was unquestionably the instrument of the conversion of many hundreds of souls in the provinces of Nova-Scotia and New-Brunwick.

Having preached in this country about eight years, viz. from 1776 till 1784, he travelled into the United States, and sickened and died, at the house of Rev. David M'Clure, in the town of North-Hampton, State of New-Hampshire, Feb. 2, 1784, in the 36th year of his age.

As he lived in a country where he had but little opportunity of doctrinal instruction, and was almost incessantly employed, during his short ministry, in travelling and preaching, it is not strange that his sentiments were hastily adopted. Had he lived to have maturely reviewed his system, he would probably have pruned it of many of its exceptionable parts.

His principal business was to roam through the forests, and hew down the trees, spending but little time in preparing and arranging them; and he raised up many communities, which were afterwards, (some during his life, and others after his death) organized into distinct churches, of the New-Light or Congregational order; the most distinguished of which were those of Cornwallis, Newport, Horton, and Upper-Granville.

But to return to Cornwallis: After Henry Alline's death, a Congregational minister of the New-Light connexion, by the name of Pavzant, was ordained to the pastoral office here, in which situation he continued a number of years, when he removed to the town of Liverpool, where he now resides. Their next, who is also their present pastor, was Rev. Edward Manning, who has furnished me with much information of Nova-Scotia, and the following respecting himself. He was ordained as their pastor, Oct. 19, 1795, being then an unbaptized New-Light minister. But his mind soon became disturbed about baptism, and for three years subsequent to his ordination, was much agitated on the subject; during which time he continued a motley mixture of administrations, sometimes immersing, and at other times sprinkling both adults and infants, constantly endeavouring to prove from the scriptures the eligibility of his subjects for the ordinance, and the validity of his different administrations. But at length his mind was brought to a stand; the only gospel baptism was clearly exhibited to his view, and he was made willing to obey. He accordingly went to Annapolis, and was baptized by the Rev. Thomas H. Chipman, the former pastor of the church in that place. This measure, as might be expected, produced some agitation in the church, but it was finally agreed, that he should

continue their pastor, without being obliged to sprinkle any more, either infants or adults: but open communion both pastor and people conscientiously maintained. About this time, a very refreshing season was granted to the church, and many believers were added by being baptized in the gospel mode. The church, however, was far from being harmonious for many years, but was in an agitated and divided state. Mr. Manning was obliged, after a few years, to relinquish open communion, and in 1807, soon after the church was reformed to its present unmixed plan, he was led to call in question the validity of his former ordination. This brought on him a new and peculiar trial, for his brethren were not unanimous in their opinions about the matter. In the midst of their inquiries, Elders Isaac Case and Henry Hale, two missionaries from the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society came among them; by their advice and assistance a unanimity was obtained, and his re-ordination was effected. Since that time they have moved on in order and harmony.

Chester.—This church was formed in 1788, upon the open communion plan, most of the members at that time being Congregationalists. One article in their Confession was: "We believe baptism to be a divine institution, yet, as there are different opinions as to the subjects and outward administration of the ordinance, we give free liberty to every member to practise according to the dictates of their consciences, as they profess to be directed by the word of God."

Different ministers laboured among them with success. Rev. John Secomb, a very godly minister of the Congregational order, became their pastor, and continued in that office till his death. Rev. Joseph Dimock, who was then a Baptist minister, and who is now their pastor, made them a number of visits during Mr. Secomb's life, and soon after his death, viz. in 1793, he accepted a call and settled among them. Under his ministry they have been a prosperous and generally a happy people. They had, however, for a while, some severe trials, occasioned by their disputes about the terms of communion. In 1809, a partial reformation was effected, so that no more were to be received into the church, unless they were baptized. But still a few good people, who had not been baptized, were admitted to their communion. Thus matters continued until 1811, when the reformation was completed, and the church was received into the association.

The limits prescribed for this work will not permit us to give a full account of the remaining churches, which once stood in the New Light connection. But it is sufficient to say, that they have passed through struggles and changes, in many respects, similar to those already mentioned.

Shelburne.—This church was formed mostly of black people, under the ministry of a black man, whose name was David George. At the close of the American war, Mr. George with many other people of colour, and a large number of whites, fled from the southern States, and settled at Shelburne. An account of the settlement of the church, its progress and breaking up, and the trials of Mr. George, are related in Rippon's Register, vol. i. p. 473—483.

David George was born a slave in Essex county, Virginia, about 1742. His master was very severe with his negroes, which induced him to run away, when he had grown to manhood. He went first to Pedee river in South Carolina, where he tarried but a few weeks, before he found he was pursued. He next went towards the Savanna river, and let himself to a Mr. Green, with whom he laboured about two years, when he was again heard of, and to escape his pursuers, he fled among the Creek Indians, and became the servant of their king, who was called *Blue Salt*. He was now about 800 miles from his master; it was, however, but a few months, before his master's son, who pursued him with unremitting diligence, came where he was, and took him; but before he could get him out of the Creek nation, he escaped from him, and fled to the Nantchee or Natchez Indians, and got to live with their king *Jack*. As there was much trading between the Indians and white people, he was soon heard of here, and was purchased by a Mr. Gaulfin, who lived on Savannah river, at Silver Bluff. Mr. Gaulfin had an agent among the Indians, whose name was John Miller, and into his custody, the poor hunted refugee was delivered. After serving him a few years, he by his own request, went to live with his master Gaulfin at Silver Bluff. It does not appear that he experienced any unkind usage from any of these masters, whether Indians or white people. And although he appeared peculiarly unfortunate, in being so often detected, yet he soon saw that a kind Providence directed his path, and brought him in due time, to receive that mercy which was laid up in

store for him. He was, all this time, a thoughtless and wicked man. After living at Silver Bluff about four years, his mind was awakened to religious concern by the conversation of a man of his own colour, whose name was Cyrus. His convictions were deep and distressing, but his deliverance was clear and joyful. Soon after his conversion, he began to pray and exhort among the black people. He received instruction and encouragement from two preachers of his own colour, George Liele, who afterwards went to Jamaica, and "——Palmer, who was the pastor of a church of black people, at some distance from Silver Bluff," probably at Augusta. He was now entirely illiterate, but he soon set about learning; he got a spelling-book, and by his own unwearied exertions, and the instruction of the little white children, he soon learnt so much, that he could read in the Bible. This was before the American war, during the whole of which he continued to preach in different places, under many embarrassments, but with a good degree of success.

This pious and laborious minister among the poor benighted sons of Africa, went to Halifax with a large company from Charleston, at the close of the American war. And from there he went to Shelburne, and collected a church as has already been suggested. After performing much useful labour in Nova-Scotia, and experiencing many trials from the opposition of wicked and unreasonable men, he with most of his church embarked for Sierra Leone in Africa, where he was labouring with good success when he was heard from last. If still living, he must be between 70 and 80 years old.

Halifax.—This church was founded by Rev. John Burton, its present pastor, in the following manner. Mr. Burton is a native of England, was initiated into the Episcopal church in infancy, and never entirely left that establishment, until he became a Baptist. He was, however, licensed in England, as a dissenting minister. He arrived at Halifax, May 20, 1792, but he had no design of tarrying there, for he left England with an intention of settling in the United States. At this time there was a Mr. Marchington in Halifax, who had built a meeting house for the Methodists, to which denomination he belonged; but on account of a disagreement between him and the society, his meeting house was unoccupied when Mr. Burton arrived. Into this house he was invited, where he preached for more than a year after his arrival

in Halifax. In the fall of 1793, Mr. Burton travelled into the United States, and at the town of Knowlton, in New-Jersey, he was baptized in December of this year, and the next month was ordained at the same place. In June, 1794, he returned to Halifax a Baptist minister, to the astonishment of all his friends. He was now entirely alone, there not being an individual Baptist in the town beside himself. He continued preaching in Mr. Marchington's meeting house, until the next year; and by this gentleman he was much befriended, until after he had become a Baptist. But now being left without patronage, his prospects were truly gloomy and discouraging, being low in his temporal circumstances, and almost destitute of the society of his brethren, as the province was then much overrun with error and enthusiasm, and the few Baptists who were scattered in it, were so much intermixed with the Pedobaptist New Lights, that he could have but little fellowship or communion with them. But his prospects soon became more encouraging; liberal helpers were raised up for the supply of himself and family; in a short time a number were baptized, and in 1795 a small church was constituted, which has never been large, but is respectable and well established. A respectable congregation has been collected, from which Mr. Burton receives a comfortable support. They have purchased a lot $55\frac{1}{2}$ by $36\frac{1}{2}$, on which they have erected a commodious house of worship, and also a dwelling house for the accommodation of their pastor.

Besides the churches, whose history has been given, there are the following in this province, which have established unmixed communion: viz. Sissiboo, in the township of Digby, Upper Granville, Lower Granville, Ragged Island, Clements, Onslow, Amherst, Lunenburgh, Digby-Neck, Nictau, and Wilmot, and a small church on Jordan and Pleasant rivers, in a new settlement between Nictau and Liverpool. On the Isle of St. John's in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and which island is attached to the province of Nova-Scotia, there is a small church under the care of Elder Isaac Bradshaw. Some of these churches were nearly as old, in their beginning, as those whose history has been given at large, and were formerly mixed in their communion; others are of later date, and were established, at first, on their present foundation.

There are also four churches in this province, which still admit unbaptized members to their communion; viz. Yarmouth, Argyle, Barrington, and Cockweet.

All the churches in Nova-Scotia are to the westward and northward of Halifax, along the Atlantic shore on the Bay of Fundy, the Basin of Minas, and on the creeks and rivers, which empty into these respective waters—the church of Amherst only excepted, which is on the Cumberland bay.

NEW-BRUNSWICK.

This province was formed by a division of that of Nova-Scotia in 1784, and is situated between it and the State of Maine. New-Brunswick contains a greater number of churches than Nova-Scotia, but they are of much later date, having been mostly formed within the present century, and furnish fewer materials for a historical narrative.

Sackville.—This church claims our first attention. This place was formerly called Tantarramar, which name it is said to have received from the French. It has been the resort of Baptists for about fifty years. We have already seen that Elder Mason and his company from Swansea settled in this place, in 1763, where they continued about eight years, and then returned again to the United States. Two Baptist ministers, whose names were Windsor and Rounds, are mentioned as having laboured here in early times, but what became of them I cannot learn. By their names one would think they went from Rhode-Island, or Rehoboth, or Swansea.

A Mr. Joseph Reed was called to the ministry in this church, probably after Mr. Mason left the place. He laboured here awhile with much success, and then removed to Horton and died. But the first Baptist church here was entirely dissolved before Henry Alline's time. Under his ministry there was a revival of religion in this place, and a Congregational church established. But this church was also scattered before the present one was established, which was raised up under the ministry of Mr. Joseph Crandall, the present pastor, in the year 1800.

Salisbury, Waterbury, and Prince-William churches were all likewise constituted in 1800. These churches, together with those of Wakefield and Springfield, belong to the Nova-Scotia and New-Brunswick Association. The following churches, I believe, have all been constituted since those abovementioned, viz. Fredericktown,

Mangerville, Shepody, city of St. John's, Nashfort, or Nashwalk, Woodstock, King's Clear, Long Reach, Sussex, St. Mary's, St. Martin's, St. George's, St. Andrews, and St. Stephen's. Very little information has been obtained respecting the time when, or the circumstances under which these churches were formed, except that a number of them were gathered and others were enlarged and strengthened by Elders Isaac Case, Henry Hale, Daniel Merrill, and Amos Allin, who have travelled hither, under the patronage of the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society, and that most of those in the parishes are on the western boundary of the province, adjoining the State of Maine.

By the foregoing sketches it appears that the Baptists are in a flourishing condition, generally speaking, in the two provinces of Nova-Scotia and New-Brunswick, and although they began here about fifty years ago, yet they never prevailed much until within fifteen or twenty years past.

Many of the churches in this country have enjoyed very precious seasons of revival, within a few years past, some accounts of which have been published, in the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine, published at Boston.

NOVA-SCOTIA AND NEW-BRUNSWICK ASSOCIATION.

So much has been said of the churches of which this body is composed, that its history will, of consequence, be short. It commenced and has progressed in the following manner.

In 1797, four ministers, whose names were Pazant, Chipman, James and Edward Manning, met in Cornwallis and devised the plan of an Association. According to their request, six churches, by their delegates, met the next year, among whom were six ministers, some of whom were Congregationalists, and some Baptists, and all the churches were, at this time, composed of a mixture of both denominations. At this time the Association was formed, and mixed communion, at that day, was a thing of course, and continued to be practised in this body, for eleven years, viz. until 1809. The Association had now become considerably large; it had enjoyed many prosperous seasons, and believers' baptism had almost supplanted the doctrine of infant sprinkling. The reader will per-

ceive by the preceding history of the churches, that the terms of communion had been previously much agitated among them. Many had come to a point on the subject, and the Association at its annual session in 1809, found itself so much straitened and embarrassed, that a vote was then passed, that for the future, no church should be considered as belonging to it, which admitted of open communion. On account of this vote, four churches were dropped, or else withdrew.

It was a trying circumstance in the minds of many, to shut their doors against so many of their pious and beloved Pedobaptist brethren, who had so long travelled in communion with them. And under these delicate circumstances, some were doubtless over-zealous in pushing the reformation, while others, probably from the tenderness of their feelings, declined promoting a measure, of the propriety of which they were most fully convinced. The reader must not suppose, that all the unbaptized persons, whom these churches admitted to their communion, were zealous for Pedo-baptism. Many of them were what some have called *Upland* Baptists, who profess to be convinced of the duty of believers' baptism, but live through life in the neglect of it. Some of these persons were so fully convinced of the propriety of unmixed communion, that they said to their brethren, "Do not wait for us, but go forward and do your duty, and leave us to do ours." And many of these who had long been halting, and who felt in a measure easy in their minds, while their baptized brethren sanctioned their neglect, by admitting them to the same church privileges with themselves, now were awakened to a sense of their duty, come forward and were baptized.

Mr. Daniel Dodge, pastor of the Baptist church in Wilmington, Delaware, was born at Port-Royal in Nova-Scotia. Mr. Job Seamans of New-London, New-Hampshire, began preaching in this country, as did Mr. John Grant, late of Middleton, Connecticut, now of Chester, Massachusetts.

CHAP. VIII.

DISTRICT (NOW STATE) OF MAINE.

This is a large tract of country of two hundred miles square, till lately belonging to the State of Massachusetts, from which it is separated by the State of New-Hampshire. It lies along the Atlantic coast, extends east to the British Province of New-Brunswick, and is bounded on the north by Lower Canada.

As early as 1681, there were some Baptists in Kittery on Piscataqua River, in the south-west part of this District, who united at first with the church in Boston, then under the care of Elder Hull. The year after, they were formed into a church, which was soon broken up by the persecutions of its enemies, and by the removal of its members to other parts. The constituents of this church were William Scriven, elder, Humphrey Churchwood, deacon, Robert Williams, John Morgandy, Richard Cutts, Timothy Davis, Leonard Drown, William Adams, Humphrey Azell, George Litten, and a number of sisters. Scriven went to South-Carolina, and founded the church at Charleston, and probably some of the others went with him.

After the dispersion of this little company we hear no more of the Baptists in this region, nor indeed in this District, until about 1767, when there was a revival of religion in Berwick, which, like Kittery, is in the county of York, just over the line of New-Hampshire; and Mr. Smith of Haverhill went and baptized a considerable number of persons, who were formed into a church by his assistance the next year.

The next church formed in this District was at Gorham, near Casco Bay, in the county of Cumberland. This church was also organized by the assistance of Mr. Smith of Haverhill. Joseph Moody, a member of it, had his horse taken from him for a ministerial tax of about six dollars. Not long after he petitioned the Assembly at Boston, that they would, like the good Samaritan, set him on his own beast. But the legislators, like the Priest and Levite, passed him by without compassion.

In a few years after, other churches arose in the western part of this District, in Sanford, Wells, Shapleigh, Coxhall, Parsonsfield, New-Gloucester, Harpswell, &c. in the counties of York and Cumberland. These were

all founded by the year 1785. In the course of ten years following, other churches had arisen in the same counties at Waterborough, Fryeburg, Cornish, Hebron, Buckfield, Paris, Livermore, and Raymondstown; and since them a great many others have been formed in their respective vicinities. Still farther eastward in this District, in the county of Lincoln, churches began to be formed about 1784, by the labours of James Potter, Job Macomber, Isaac Case, and others.

Mr. Potter was born at Brunswick, in Maine, in 1734; Mr. Macomber is a native of Middleborough, and Mr. Case of Rehoboth in Massachusetts. They all began labouring in this part of Maine, when it was in a wilderness condition, and soon churches were formed in Bowdoinham, Thomastown, Edgecomb, Bowdoin, Vassalborough, Ballston, and many other places. Elder Simon Lock, from Wells, was very useful in his ministerial visits in these parts, and as the churches increased, a number of useful ministers were raised up to supply them, among whom were Elisha Snow, Humphrey Purinton, William Stinson, Asa Wilbour, Lemuel Jackson, Andrew Fuller, Ephraim Hall, Mephibosheth Cain, Nehemiah Gould, Job Chadwick, and others.*

As the settlements extended, the Baptists carried their principles eastward until they reached the British line, and a considerable number of churches have been planted by the ministers of Maine, in the Provinces of New-Brunswick and Nova-Scotia.

So great has been the increase of the Baptists in Maine, that it now contains three large Associations, not far from a hundred and thirty churches, and some where between six and seven thousand members. This great increase has been partly by emigrants from other places, but mostly by those many and precious revivals, which, for about thirty years past, have been granted to different parts of this highly favoured region.

BOWDOINHAM ASSOCIATION.

This Association was begun in 1787, of only the three churches of Bowdoinham, Thomastown, and Harpswell. It took its name from that of the town where it was formed, which is on the Kennebeck River, about 170 miles northeast of Boston. This Association had increased to

* Backus, vol. iii. p. 201—212.

forty-eight churches by the year 1804. Nothing special appears to have occurred in this body during this period, only it experienced an almost uninterrupted scene of prosperity and enlargement.

The churches of which it was composed were now scattered over a great extent of country, and a division was thought advisable, which was accordingly amicably effected.

LINCOLN ASSOCIATION.

This was formed by the division of the Bowdoinham just mentioned, in 1804. This like the mother body has had a very prosperous course, and has extended its bounds far beyond the Penobscot River, in the new towns and plantations, which have there been settled. It has increased to fifty churches, in which are about two thousand seven hundred members.

An event took place within the bounds of this Association, the year after it was formed, which excited no small attention throughout the United States.

In 1805, Rev. Daniel Merrill, pastor of a Congregational church in Sedgwick, about 300 miles north-east of Boston, embraced the doctrine of believers' baptism, and preached seven sermons in defence of it. These sermons have passed through many editions, and have had an extensive circulation throughout the United States. The church at Sedgwick was then in a flourishing condition, and had before been famed in its connexion for its piety and purity. As soon as Baptist principles began to be examined among them, many were convinced of their former errors, and embraced them, and by the assistance of Dr. Baldwin of Boston, Mr. John Pitman of Providence, and Mr. Elisha Williams of Beverly, Mr Merrill and wife, and others of his church, to the number of sixty-six, were buried in baptism, May 13, 1805. Nineteen more were baptized the day following, and the whole were formed into a Baptist church, and Mr. Merrill was ordained their pastor. The Congregational church continued to repair to the water until about a hundred and twenty of them were baptized.

The fame of these proceedings spread far, and produced unusual sensations among different parties. The Baptists had every reason to believe that Mr. Merrill and his church had embraced their sentiments from a sober con-

viction of their truth. A number of their most judicious ministers had visited them, heard their account and given them fellowship. But many of the Pedobaptists wondered and reproached. Pamphlet after pamphlet was written against him, to most of which he replied. Others got concerned in the baptismal controversy on both sides of the question, and a watery war raged extensively for a number of years.

The Sedgwick church, after its renovation, united with the Lincoln Association, in which it still continues. The churches of Blue-Hill and Deer-isle, one to the north and the other to the south of it, have been formed from it. It has sent forth into the ministry, Phinehas Pillsbury, Henry Hale, Dr. John Burnham, John Roundy, and Amos Allen. All these ministers, except Dr. Burnham, belonged to it while it was on the Pedobaptist plan. Amaziah Dodge, another of its members, has been approbated to preach.

On the east of the bounds of the Lincoln Association, towards the British line, are a number of churches, which, on account of their remote situation, have not yet united with any Association.

CUMBERLAND ASSOCIATION.

The Bowdoinham Association by 1810, only six years after the Lincoln was taken from it, had increased to fifty-one churches, and had again become too large to meet with convenience in one body; it was therefore agreed in that year to divide it, and the Androscoggin or Amoriscoggin River, was fixed upon as the dividing line. The churches east of this line remained with the old Association; those to the west of it, united in a new one, to which they gave the name of Cumberland. This Association is in the south-west corner of Maine, and comprehends some of the first churches which were organized in it, particularly Harpswell, Hebron, Buckfield, Paris, Livermore, &c.

The church in Livermore was formed in 1793. It is remarkable for having approbated eleven ministers in the course of a few years. Their names were Elisha Williams, Otis Robinson, Henry Bond, Zebedee Delano, Sylvanus Boardman, William Goding, Thomas Wyman, John Simmons, Ebenezer Bray, Perez Ellis, and Ransom Norton.

The church in Portland on account of its singular origin and local situation deserves a brief description. In 1796, five or six persons in this town were hopefully born into the kingdom of God, and became zealously engaged in religious pursuits. The preaching they had usually attended was not sufficiently evangelical to meet their views; they therefore in a short time declined attending it. For a time, some went over to Cape Elizabeth, where they were comforted by the ministry of Rev. Mr. Clark, a Congregational preacher, who died not long after. Among this little company of inquirers for truth, were Benjamin Titcomb, now pastor of the church in Brunswick, and Thomas Beck, one of the deacons of the church, which arose by their means. After the death of Mr. Clark, Mr. Titcomb opened his own house for the reception of his pious associates, and there, for a time, they conducted a little meeting, which frequently did not consist of more than six persons, by singing, praying, and reading sermons. They next proceeded to read the scriptures only, and those who were able expounded them to the rest. All this time they had no thoughts of becoming Baptists, nor was the subject of baptism any part of their study. But having taken the Bible for their guide, believers' baptism followed of course. Mr. Titcomb was baptized in 1799, by Dr. Green of North-Yarmouth, twelve miles south-east of Portland, and united with the church then under the Doctor's care. Others, not long after, followed his example, until ten persons were baptized, and of this number the church, whose history we have in view, was formed in 1801, and Mr. Titcomb, who had previously been called to the ministry by the church in North-Yarmouth, became its pastor. He continued here until 1804, and then he removed to his present situation in Brunswick. Twenty were added to the Portland church under his ministry. After his removal it remained destitute of a pastor until 1807, when Mr. John Convers was ordained to the care of it, in which he continued about three years. By this time it increased to over one hundred. Soon after his removal Mr Caleb Blood was, by the unanimous voice of the church, settled in the pastoral office, in which he continued till his death, in 1814. Successor to him was Rev. Thomas B. Ripley, a native of Boston, who still officiates as the pastor of this people. This church made an early purchase of a lot in a central part of the town, ninety feet

front, and seventy back, on which they erected a low temporary building, which they occupied until 1811, when it was removed to make room for their present more spacious edifice, which is sixty-one feet by sixty four.

A number of churches, and some of the oldest in Maine, belong to the New-Hampshire Association. There are a considerable number scattered in different parts of the State which are not associated, and besides, there is a large body of what are called Free-will Baptists, whose history will be related under a separate head.

CHAP. IX.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE.

THE first settlements in this State were begun in 1623, only three years after the fathers of New-England landed at Plymouth. But we do not find that any Baptists were settled here, until more than a century after. The oldest and most distinguished Baptist establishments in New-Hampshire were formed in the south-east corner of the State, between the Merrimack and Piscataqua rivers, in the counties of Rockingham and Strafford. Not far from the time that churches began to be gathered here, a few were raised up in the western part of the State, along the Connecticut river, in the counties of Cheshire and Grafton. The third group of churches was gathered in the county of Hilisborough, which lies, for the most part, west of the Merrimack river, and extends from the southern line of the State far up into its middle regions.

But one church was formed in New-Hampshire, previous to the year 1770; that was the one at Newtown, which was gathered in 1755. From 1770, until 1779, nine other churches were planted. From this period they began to increase with great rapidity, so that nine more were established in the year 1780.

The Baptists still continued their zealous and successful exertions, their sentiments prevailed, and their churches increased, so that by the year 1795, there were, within the bounds of New-Hampshire, 41 churches, 30 ministers, and 2562 communicants, and these churches were scattered in almost every part of the State.

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From the last mentioned date to the present time, the Baptist sentiments have probably prevailed with as much rapidity as at any former period; but as many Baptist members have emigrated to other States, and the Free-will Baptists (as they are called) having of late years proselyted many to their communion, and divided and overrun a number of the Calvinistic churches, their number is not so great as it might otherwise have been. A number of the oldest churches in this State, mentioned by Mr. Backus in his Catalogue for 1784, have either become extinct, or exist under different names.

The New-Hampshire, the Meredith, the Woodstock, and Dublin Associations, are all of them either partly or wholly in this State, and there are also a few churches in this State, which belong to the Boston and Leyden Associations in Massachusetts, and those of Barre and Danville in Vermont.

NEW-HAMPSHIRE ASSOCIATION.

This body was begun under the name of a Conference, in 1776, and did not assume the name and standing of an Association, until 1785. The churches of which this Conference was at first composed, were those of Brentwood, Berwick and Sanford; the two last were in the District of Maine. Dr. Shepard and William Hooper, then of Berwick, now of Madbury, were the principal promoters of this little Association. At their first interview, they were visited by Mr. Backus, the historian, who was then travelling through the country. This small community soon began to increase; some churches, which had been formed before they began to associate, soon fell in with them, others were raised up soon after, and united with them in their progress, and in a harmonious and prosperous manner, they have travelled on from their beginning to the present time. And although their number has, at various times, been diminished by different causes, yet they remain, in some measure, a large, and in every sense, a respectable body.

From the beginning of this Association some of its churches were in the District of Maine, and there a considerable portion of them have ever been, and are still situated.

Of those churches in this Association which are situated in New-Hampshire, the one called Brentwood is by far the largest, and in many respects, the most distinguished; and, indeed, this is the only church in this region, of which I have been able to collect any historical sketches, of any considerable importance.

Brentwood is in the county of Rockingham, about twenty miles westward of Portsmouth. The church here was organized in May, 1771, with only thirteen members; but it has now increased to almost seven hundred. This great increase has been partly by means of revivals with which this body has been favoured in a remarkable manner, and partly by collecting in its fold other churches, and the broken remains of other churches in its vicinity, some of which had been formed before it.

MEREDITH ASSOCIATION.

This body was formed in 1789. It was small at first, and for some cause has never appeared to enjoy much prosperity or enlargement. It has, however, at different times, contained almost twice as many churches as it does at present. Some of the churches which formerly belonged to it, have united with the Woodstock and Barre Associations, and others have been overrun by the Free-will Baptists, who have now become numerous in its vicinity.

The town of Meredith, from which this Association received its name, is in the county of Strafford, on the west side of Winnipisseogee lake, fifteen miles north of Gilmanton, and seventy north-west of Portsmouth. The church here, which is one of the oldest in this body, was gathered in 1780, when Dr. Shepard, of Brentwood, baptized forty-four persons in one day. Mr. Nicholas Folsom, who went from Brentwood, was ordained the pastor of this church in 1782; and in that office, though far advanced in age, he still continues. This venerable elder has long been considered the father of this little Association.

DUBLIN ASSOCIATION.

This little body was organized as an Association in 1809, in the town from which it received its name, which is in the county of Cheshire, upwards of sixty miles west of Portsmouth, and near the southern borders of New-Hampshire. It consisted, at the time of its formation of six churches, which were dismissed from the Woodstock Association.

This Association is situated in the southern parts of the counties of Hillsborough and Cheshire.

On the western side of New-Hampshire, along the Connecticut river, and extending some distance back in the country, is a large group of respectable churches, which are supplied by a number of eminent ministers. These churches mostly belong to the Woodstock Association; and, indeed, they compose about half of that body, and some of them are almost as old as any in New-Hampshire.

Some of the ministers who settled in this region, were Matturin Ballou, Ebenezer Bailey, Jedidiah Hibbard, Eleazer Beckwith, Thomas Baldwin, now of Boston, Isaac Kenny, &c. The oldest churches, along or near to the river, are those of Richmond, Westmoreland, Marlow, and Newport.

In 1779, Elders Job Seamans, of Attleborough, Massachusetts, and Biel Ledoyt, of Woodstock, Connecticut, were appointed by the Warren Association, to travel, and spend a few weeks in preaching in these new and destitute plantations. Their appointment was in consequence of an affecting letter from Mr. Caleb Blood, who was at that time preaching at Marlow. Mr. Blood informed his brethren of the destitute situation of the people around him, and earnestly entreated the Association to send some ministering brethren over into this Macedonia to help him. Messrs. Seamans and Ledoyt were selected for the mission, which they performed in 1779. In their journey, they travelled up the Connecticut river as far as Woodstock, in Vermont, before the church was raised in that place; they preached both sides of the river, but mostly on the New-Hampshire side; their coming was refreshing to the hearts of many, and an evident blessing followed their zealous and evangelical labours. Both of these ministers afterwards removed to this State, and settled not far from the scene of their labours in this missionary excursion. Mr. Ledoyt, who settled in Newport, returned to Woodstock, in Connecticut, where he was settled before his removal hither, but Mr. Seamans still remains at New-London, the aged and much respected pastor of the large and flourishing church which was planted, and which hath been built up under his ministry.

The Congregational church is the established religion of New-Hampshire. But dissenters of various denominations form a large body of its inhabitants. I do not find

that the Baptists have suffered much in this State, from religious oppression, or been much harassed with those fretting plagues to New-England dissenters, ministerial taxes.

This moderation we may attribute partly to the spirit of the established church, but mostly to other causes. While New-Hampshire was a provincial government, its Governors and Counsellors were appointed by the Crown of England. This circumstance was favourable to dissenters, and operated as a check to the monopolizing views of the Congregational clergy, and was the reason, as Mr. Backus informs us, why that denomination was not exalted to such an overbearing pre-eminence here, as in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

Another reason why ministerial tax-gatherers have not been so troublesome to the Baptists and other dissenters in this State, as in some of the neighbouring ones, may be, that under the government of Benning Wentworth, while a large portion of the State was unsettled, there were grants of ministerial lands in all the unsettled townships. These grants provided one lot for the first settled minister, and another for the support of the ministry. A few Baptist ministers obtained these lands by right of being the first settled ministers, for they were not exclusively promised to any one denomination; but most of them have fallen into the hands of Congregational ministers; and have, in many places, precluded the need of religious taxation.

By the Constitution of New-Hampshire, "all towns, parishes, bodies corporate, or religious societies, &c are empowered to make adequate provision for public protestant teachers of piety, morality and religion." But it also *provides*, "that no person of any one particular religious sect or denomination, shall ever be compelled to pay towards the support of the teachers of another persuasion, sect, or denomination."*

This article promises all that dissenters would ask. But notwithstanding these strong and unqualified terms of exemption, the Baptists and other dissenters, have, in a few instances, been obliged to lodge certificates, or make some formal declaration of their faith to get clear of parish *rates*. But these instances have not been numerous, and, at present, our brethren in this State generally enjoy all the religious privileges, which they have ever asked from the civil power, viz. *to be let alone*.

* Bill of Rights. Art. VI.

CHAP. X.

VERMONT.

THIS is wholly an inland State, and is bounded north by Lower Canada, east by Connecticut river, which divides it from New-Hampshire, south by Massachusetts, and west by New-York. This State began to be settled about 1725 or 1730; the south part of it, at that time, was claimed by Massachusetts. After the year 1741, the whole territory was considered as lying within the jurisdiction of New-Hampshire; but in 1764, it was by order of the King of Britain, annexed to the province of New-York. This occasioned a long series of altercation between the settlers and claimants under New-Hampshire and the government of New-York. But these tedious controversies were finally adjusted, and in 1791, Vermont was admitted a member of the federal union.*

There were but two Baptist churches established in this State, previous to the year 1780. The first of these was gathered in Shaftsbury in 1768, and the other at Pownal in 1773. About the year 1780, and during a few succeeding years, a number of Baptist ministers from different parts of the neighbouring States removed and settled amidst the lofty forests of this then uncultivated territory. These ministers were preceded in their settlement here, by a few families of their brethren, they were attended in their removals by a considerable number more, and multitudes shortly followed after them, who dispersed in almost every direction on both sides of the Green Mountains, in the lower and middle regions of the State, and thus laid the foundation for the large number of churches which shortly afterwards arose.

Between the years 1780 and 1790, thirty-two churches were planted in Vermont, so that together with the two which had been planted before, there were at the last mentioned date, thirty-four churches in this State, in which were twenty-eight ordained, and fifteen licensed preachers, and their whole number of communicants was about sixteen hundred. Elisha Ransom, Elisha Rich, Joseph Cornell, Thomas Skeels, Hezekiah Eastman, William Bentley, John Hibbard, John Peak, Caleb Blood, Aaron Leland, Isaac Beal, John Drew, Isaac Webb, Henry

* Morse's Geography, vol. I p. 361.

Green, Isaiah Stone, and Joseph Call, were among the first Baptist ministers, who settled in this State, and by whose laborious and evangelical exertions, the early churches were planted. But few of these ministers moved into the State, with the immediate expectation of taking the pastoral care of churches, for at the time of their removal very few churches had been gathered; but most of them came by the invitation of the few scattering inhabitants, who had just commenced the settlement of their plantations, and were desirous of having the gospel preached among them. And some of them were merely adventurers into a new country for the purpose of obtaining lands on which they might plant their families, and provide for their support. But that wise Providence, which led them in the wilderness, not only made a way for their temporal comfort and advantage, but soon opened a door for peculiar usefulness in their ministerial labours; showers of grace were soon sent down on many of the infant settlements; the calls for their labours became numerous and importunate, and the Lord inspired his servants with diligence and delight in his service, and crowned their labours with abundant success.

In the churches, which were planted by these men, have been raised up a number of ministerial sons, who have long been and still continue to be successful labourers in this part of the Lord's vineyard.

There are, at present, within the bounds of this State about 80 churches, most of which are connected with the Shaftsbury, the Woodstock, the Vermont, the Richmond, the Barre, and the Danville Associations, all of which bodies were organized within this State; none of them, however, are exclusively in it, and the Shaftsbury and Woodstock have the majority of their churches in the States of New-York, Massachusetts and New-Hampshire.

As the churches, in this State, began to associate soon after they were planted, and have, with a very few exceptions, always travelled in an associated capacity, it may be best to exhibit what the limits of this work will permit us to say of them, in connection with the histories of the Associations to which they belong.

SHAFTSBURY ASSOCIATION.

This Association was formed in the town from which it received its name, in the year 1780. It contained at

first the five following churches, viz. two in Shaftsbury, the first in Cheshire, then called, now New-Providence, one in Stillwater, and one at White-Creek. The principal ministers were Peter Warden, William Wait, Lemuel Powers, and Joseph Cornell. Lemuel Powers was ordained at this first meeting of the Association.

The Shaftsbury Association, although of a recent date, compared with some of its sister communities, yet on account of its almost continual prosperity and enlargement, the number and size of its churches, and the number of eminent ministers amongst them, must be considered as one of the most important establishments of the kind, amongst the American Baptists.

In 1788, the number of its churches had increased to sixteen, at which time the total number of members was about 800.

In 1796, the number of churches was twenty eight, and in this year upwards of four hundred were added by baptism, which made the whole number of members almost eighteen hundred.

In the year 1800, this Association contained upwards of forty churches, and more than four thousand members. In this year there were added by baptism 767. In this prosperous manner, this body progressed, until the year 1804, when its number amounted to between five and six thousand It had now become so large and extensive, that a division which had previously been proposed was amicably effected.

The churches in this Association, at the time of its division, were scattered over the counties of Berkshire and Hampshire in Massachusetts, and in those of Columbia, Rensselaer, Washington, and Saratoga, in New-York. It had in former years been much more extensive in its boundaries, but many churches had been dismissed before this period, to unite with Associations which had been established within their respective vicinities.

Most of the churches which were dismissed in 1804 were situated to the westward of the Hudson river, in the counties of Washington and Saratoga in the State of New-York; these united in forming the Saratoga Association.

About the time of this division, the Association probably contained as great a number of Elders of distinguished abilities and eminent usefulness, as any other Association in the United States. But the Saratoga Association took off some of these men, others, not long after, were taken

away by death, and some removed to other parts; and thus this extensive and influential establishment was not only reduced in its numbers, but enfeebled in its energies. But at present it appears to be resuming its former character, and is travelling on with reputation and strength.

WOODSTOCK ASSOCIATION.

This Association lies on both sides of the Connecticut river, in the States of Vermont and New-Hampshire. It was organized with a very few churches, February, 1783, in Woodstock, which is one of the principal towns in Windsor county, a few miles above Windsor in Vermont, and not far below Hanover, in New-Hampshire, and not great distance west of Connecticut river.

Some of the oldest churches in this body are situated on the eastern side of the river in the counties of Cheshire, Crafton and Hillsborough, in New-Hampshire. [An account of these churches has already been given in the history of the State to which they belong.] As this body originated in Vermont, we shall, under this head, give a brief narrative of its proceedings, together with some historical sketches of the most distinguished churches which it contains.

This Association has never been large compared with the Shaftsbury and some others; but it has generally been in a flourishing state, its movements have been harmonious and regular; its churches have been well established and respectable, many of which have been, and still are, supplied with ministers eminent for their abilities and usefulness.

Amongst the oldest churches in the Woodstock Association, on the Vermont side of the river, we must reckon those of Woodstock, Hartford, Bridgewater, Westminster, Dummerston, Royalton, Windsor, Putney, Chester, Rockingham and Reading. Dummerston, Putney, and some other churches in the south-east corner of Vermont, now belong to the Leyden Association.

The church in Chester, Windsor county, was formed in 1789. It originated in the following manner. In 1786, Aaron Leland, a native of Holliston, Massachusetts, who had been approbated to preach a little before, by the church in Bellingham, then under the care of Elder Noah Alden, received a letter from fifteen persons living in Chester, none of whom however were Baptist members, requesting him to come and preach among them for

a short time. Conformable to this request, he took a journey to the place a few months after. But when he arrived, he found it so much uncultivated, both in a natural and moral point of view, and the prospect so unpromising, that he was unwilling to think of tarrying with them long. But after being here a short time, he felt a powerful application to his mind of this passage, "The Lord hath much people in this city." This scripture afforded him much comfort then, and he has had the happiness since of seeing it abundantly verified. After preaching with the people a few weeks, he returned; visited them again not many months after, and in a short time settled among them. He had been previously ordained by the church in Bellingham.

In 1789, he had the happiness of seeing a small church gathered, which consisted of only ten members, including himself. This little body travelled on in harmony and order, experiencing a gradual increase, but no remarkable ingathering, for ten years after it was founded. But in 1799, a revival commenced, which became very powerful and extensive, and spread, not only throughout Chester, but prevailed in a number of the neighbouring towns. At the close of this work, the church had become so numerous and extensive, that they thought proper to make a division, and by the advice of their brethren, who were called for the purpose, on the 31st of August, 1803, four churches were set off from the original body, which were named, from the towns in which they were situated, Andover, Grafton, Wethersfield, and Cavendish. This was an interesting day, and the circumstance is probably unexampled in the annals of our churches.

VERMONT ASSOCIATION.

This was the third confederacy of the kind established in this State. It was organized in Elder Joseph Cornell's barn, in the town of Manchester, May, 1785. The country was then so new, and the houses so small, that a mansion similar to that in which the Saviour was first seen by mortals, was the most convenient place in which they could assemble. This body, at the time of its constitution, comprized only five small churches, in which were but four elders, and 231 members. In five years from its beginning, it increased to thirteen churches, and 740 members.

This Association lies wholly west of the Green Mountains, and is mostly in the counties of Rutland and Addison. Two of its churches, viz. Salem and Granville, are in Washington county, New-York. This body now comprises a number of large and respectable churches, which are supplied by a number of ministers, eminent for their abilities and usefulness.

The five constituent churches of this Association were those of Clarendon, Granville, Manchester, Danby, and Mapletown. The churches in Wallingford, Ira, Middletown, and Pittsfield, were constituted before the Association was formed; and those of Poultney, Orwell, Hubbardston, Brandon and Paulet, but a few years after.

RICHMOND ASSOCIATION.

This Association is situated northward of the Vermont, and extends from Onion river to the northern boundaries of the State, and three of the churches are in the province of Lower Canada. It is bounded on the west by lake Champlain, and extends eastward to the Green Mountains, and is in the counties of Chittenden, Franklin, and Orleans.

This Association was begun with not more than four or five churches, in 1795, and although it has been gradually increasing from its beginning, it has not yet become large. Respecting the history of the churches in this establishment, I have obtained scarcely any information, except that some were raised up by the labours of Elders Jedidiah Hibbard, from New-Hampshire, and Joseph Call, from Woodstock, in this State. I find, also, that Elders Ezra Willmarth, Samuel Rogers, and Elisha Andrews, were preaching within the bounds of this Association, in the early part of its movements.

I have been informed that this Association has changed its name to that of Fairfield, and that the churches in Canada which contain about two hundred members, are not included in it.

Besides those already mentioned, there are two other small Associations in this State, which are situated on the east side of the mountains. These Associations are Barre and Danville.

BARRE ASSOCIATION

Lies immediately north of the Woodstock. It was formed about 1807, of six or seven churches, and is yet very

small. It is situated in the counties of Orange, Caledonia, and Jefferson. The churches of Hanover and Lyme are in the county of Grafton in New-Hampshire.

DANVILLE ASSOCIATION

Lies still north of the Barre, mostly in the county of Caledonia. It was formed of four or five small churches, about 1810. This Association is mostly the fruits of missionary labours.

There are a number of Baptist churches in this State of the Freewill order, which will be taken notice of in the history of that community.

Although many of our brethren were amongst the first settlers, in most parts of this State, yet the greater part of the settlers were of the Congregational order, from the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut. These people carried with them the religious maxims of their native States, and by their influence the country was divided into parishes, in most of which Congregational churches were established, and a law was passed similar to those in the other New-England States, empowering these parishes to levy a general tax for building meeting-houses, and supporting their ministers. The Baptists in a few instances, and but a few, have been oppressed with these taxes. But now, all laws regulating religious worship, are done away, and the gospel is left in Vermont to be supported by the voluntary contributions of its advocates and friends.

CHAP. XI.

MASSACHUSETTS.

There was not any church of the Baptist order founded in this State, until more than forty years after its settlement; but there were at first, and all along during this period, some persons of the Baptist persuasion, or to speak in the language of that day, persons tinctured with Anabaptistical errors, intermixed with the inhabitants. And before we proceed to the churches and associations in this Commonwealth, we shall exhibit in one view, the number, names, circumstances, and sufferings of our

brethren, and of those who were baptistically inclined, in th boasted asylum of religious freedom, up to the year 1663, when the first church in Swansea was founded.

It is asserted by Dr. Mather, in his Magnalia, that "some of the first planters in New-England were Baptists;" and this assertion is corroborated by some of the laws and letters which will be mentioned in the following sketches. Roger Williams was not a Baptist practically while he resided in this government, but he, nevertheless, began here his baptistical career, and it is evident that the fear of consequences of his popular ministry induced the priest-led magistrates to pass the cruel sentence of banishment against him. While he was at Plymouth, it was feared "that he would run the same course of rigid separation and Anabaptistery, which Mr. John Smith of Amsterdam had done;" and after he went to Salem, it is said, that "in one year's time he filled that place with principles of rigid separation, tending to *Anabaptism.*"* *Anabaptism*, in the view of the Massachusetts people, was a heretical monster, of which they were most terribly afraid.

It has always been found that the leading principles of the first reformers, when carried foreward to their legitimate consequences, will endanger the cause of infant baptism. "Bishop Sanderson says, that the Rev. Archbishop Whitgift, and the learned Hooker, men of great judgment, and famous in their times, did long since foresee, and declare their fear, that if ever Puritanism should prevail among us, it would soon draw in Anabaptism after it.—This, Cartwright and the Disciplinarians denied and were offended at.—But these good men judged right: they considered only as prudent men, that Anabaptism had its rise from the same principles the Puritans held, and its growth from the same course they took; together with the natural tendency of their principles and practices toward it; especially that *one principle*, as it was then by them misunderstood, that the Scripture was *adequata agendorum regula*, so as nothing might be lawfully done without express warrant, either from some command or example therein contained; which clue, if followed as far as it would go, would certainly in time carry them as far as the Anabaptists had then gone." "This, says Mr. Callender, I beg leave to look on as a most glorious concession, of the most able adversaries. One party contend,

* Backus, Vol. 1. p. 56.

that the scripture is the adequate rule of worship, and for the necessity of some command or example there; the other party say this leads to Anabaptism."

The Archbishop and Mr. Hooker were by no means mistaken in their conjectures; for so many of the Puritans as adhered strictly to that one principle, that the scripture is the adequate rule of worship, did become Anabaptists, as they were called; and the reason why all did not, was, that they would not allow this one powerful principle, which is sufficient to demolish the whole fabrick of human inventions, to operate in all its force against infant baptism, but threw in its way Abraham's covenant, and the traditions of the fathers.

The first settlers of New-England knew by what they had seen at home, the danger of the Puritans running into Anabaptism; or to speak correctly, their disposition to revive to its apostolic purity the ordinance of baptism; they therefore continually made use of every precaution, to hush all inquiries, and to close every avenue of light upon the subject; and although we condemn their methods, we must at the same time confess that they were attended with too much success.

It was a long time before the Baptists could gain much ground in either of the colonies of Plymouth or Massachusetts. It is probable, however, that they would have gained establishments here much sooner than they did, notwithstanding the vehement zeal with which they were opposed, had not the glorious liberties of the little colony of Rhode-Island offered them an asylum so much to their mind.

But notwithstanding all their attempts to keep them out and to beat them down, it is evident there have been Baptists in this State, from its first settlement, which is now a period of upwards of two hundred years; and some distinguished persons resided here for a time, who became Baptists after they left the colony and settled in other parts.

Hansard Knollys, who afterwards became a very distinguished Baptist minister in London, came over to this country in 1638, and landed at Boston; but afterwards went to Dover on the Piscataqua river, where he tarried a few years, and then went back to England.

In 1639, it seems there was an attempt to found a Baptist church at Weymouth, a town about 14 miles south-east of Boston, which was, however, frustrated

by the strong arguments of interposing magistrates. John Smith, John Spur, Richard Sylvester, Ambrose Morton, Thomas Mackpeace, and Robert Lenthal, were the principal promoters of this design. They were all arraigned before the General Court at Boston, March 13, 1639, where they were treated according to the order of the day. Smith, who was probably the greatest transgressor, was fined twenty pounds, and committed during the pleasure of the Court. Sylvester was fined twenty shillings, and disfranchised. Morton was fined ten pounds, and counselled to go to Mr. Mather for instruction. Mackpeace had probably no money; he was not fined, but had a modest hint of banishment, unless he reformed. Lenthal it seems compromised the matter with the court for the present; consented to appear before it at the next session; was enjoined to acknowledge his fault, and so on. How matters finally terminated with him I do not find; but it is certain he soon after went to Mr. Clark's settlement on Rhode-Island, and began to preach there before the first church in Newport was formed.

The court having thus dispersed the heretical combination, "thought fit to set apart a day of humiliation, to seek the face of God, and reconciliation with him by our Lord Jesus Christ, &c."*

In 1640, Mr. Charles Chauncey came over to this country; he was an advocate for the doctrine of dipping in baptism, but at the same time held that infants were proper subjects of the ordinance. He was esteemed a great scholar and a godly man. The church in Plymouth were anxious to settle him amongst them; but they were as strenuous for sprinkling as he was for immersion. "There was much trouble about the matter. The magistrates and the elders there, and the most of the people, withstood the *reviving of that practice*, (that is immersion) not for itself so much as for fear of worse consequences, as the annihilating our baptism, &c."† The church finally proposed that Mr. Reyner, their other minister, with whom he was to be associated, should do all the sprinkling, so that he should not be obliged to administer the sacred rite, only in his own way; but with this temporizing proposal, "he did not see light to comply." For although he was but half right, yet he was strong so far as he had gone. From Plymouth, Mr.

* Backus' History, &c. Vol I. p. 113, 114.

† Winthrop's journal as quoted by Backus.

Chauncey went to Scituate, a town on the Massachusetts Bay about twenty-eight miles southeast of Boston, where he was settled and resided many years. We are told that "here he persevered in his opinion of *dipping in baptism*, and practised accordingly, first upon two of his own children, which being in very cold weather, one of them swooned away; another having a child about three years old, but fearing it would be frightened, as others had been, carried it to Boston, with testimonials from Chauncey, where the seal of the covenant was impressed upon it in a milder form."

Mr. Backus well observes, that "Mr. Chauncey's grand difficulty in *burying in Baptism*, was his admitting subjects, who had not the faith or discretion necessary for such an action."*

The same year in which Mr Chauncey came over, a female of considerable distinction, whom Governor Winthrop calls the lady Moody, and who, according to the account of that candid statesman and historian, was a wise, amiable and religious woman, "was taken with the error of denying baptism to infants." She had purchased a plantation at Lynn, ten miles northeast of Boston, of one Humphrey, who had returned to England. She belonged to the church in Salem, to which she was near, where she was dealt with by many of the elders and others; but persisting in her error, and to escape the storm which she saw gathering over head, she removed to Long-Island and settled among the Dutch. "Many others infested with Anabaptism removed thither also." Eleven years after Mrs. Moody's removal, Messrs. Clark, Holmes, and Crandal, went to visit some Baptists at Lynn, by the request of an aged brother, whose name was William Witter. This circumstance makes it probable, that although many Anabaptists went off with this lady, there were some left behind. We shall soon have occasion to take more particular notice of the Baptists in this place.

In 1644 we are informed by Mr. Hubbard, that a "poor man by the name of Painter, was suddenly turned Anabaptist, and having a child born would not suffer his wife to carry it to be baptized. He was complained of for this to the court, and *enjoined* by them to suffer his child to be baptized. But poor Painter had the misfortune to dissent both from the church and court. He told them that infant baptism was an antichristian ordinance, for

* Backus' History, &c. vol. 1. p. 115 and 145, 146.

which he was tied up and whipt. He bore his chastisement with fortitude, and declared that he had divine help to support him. The same author who recorded this narrative, intimates that this poor sufferer "was a man of very loose behaviour at home." This accusation was altogether a thing of course; it would have been almost a miracle, for a poor Anabaptist to have been a holy man. Governor Winthrop tells us he belonged to Hingham, and says he was whipt "for reproaching the Lord's ordinance." Upon which Mr. Backus judiciously inquires, "did not they who whipt this poor, conscientious man, reproach infant sprinkling, by taking such methods to support it, more than Painter did?"*

About this time Mr. Williams returned from England, with the charter for Rhode-Island, and landed at Boston. He brought with him a letter, signed by twelve members of Parliament, addressed to the Governor, Assistants, and people of Massachusetts, exhorting them to lenient measures towards their dissenting brethren, and towards Mr. Williams in particular. The sentence of banishment yet lay upon him, which these noble advocates for liberty besought them to remove. But every avenue of compunction and mercy was closed; "Upon the receipt of this letter the Governor and magistrates of Massachusetts found, upon examination of their hearts, no reason to condemn themselves for any former proceedings against Mr. Williams, &c."†

The Baptists and those inclined to their sentiments were, doubtless, emboldened by the favour which Mr. Williams had obtained at home, and by knowing that he had obtained the royal assent for a colony which would afford them an asylum in the time of danger. About this time, we are told by Winthrop, that "the Anabaptists increased and spread in Massachusetts." This increase was a most fearful and ungrateful sight to the rulers of this colony, and was doubtless the means of leading the General Court to pass the following act for the suppression of this obnoxious sect.

"Forasmuch as experience hath plentifully and often proved, that since the first rising of the Anabaptists, about one hundred years since, they have been the incendiaries of commonwealths, and the infestors of persons in maine matters of religion, and the troublers of churches in all places where they have been, and that they, who

* Backus' Hist. vol. 1. p. 147, 148.

† Hubbard, as quoted by Backus, vol. 1. p. 155—6.

have held the baptizing of infants unlawful, have usually held other errors or heresies therewith, though they have (as other hereticks use to do) concealed the same, till they spied out a fit advantage and opportunity to vent them, by way of question or scruple; and whereas divers of this kind have, since our coming into New-England, appeared amongst ourselves, some whereof (as others before them) denied the ordinance of magistracy, and the lawfulness of making war, and others the lawfulness of magistrates, and their inspection into any breach of the first table; which opinions, if they should be connived at by us, are like to be increased amongst us, and so must necessarily bring guilt upon us, infection and trouble to the churches, and hazard to the whole Commonwealth; it is ordered and agreed, that if any person or persons, within this jurisdiction, shall either openly condemn or oppose the baptizing of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the ministration of the ordinance, or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy, or their lawful right and authority to make war, or to punish the outward breaches of the first table, and shall appear to the court wilfully and obstinately to continue therein after due time and means of conviction, every such person or persons shall be *sentenced to banishment*."

This was the first law which was made against the Baptists in Massachusetts. It was passed November 13th, 1644, about two months after Mr. Williams landed in Boston as above related. Two charges, which it contains, Mr. Backus acknowledges are true, viz. that the Baptists denied infant baptism and the ordinance of magistracy; or as a Baptist would express it, the use of secular force in religious affairs; but all the other slanderous invectives he declares are utterly without foundation. He furthermore asserts, that he had diligently searched all the books, records, and papers, which he could find on all sides, and could not find an instance then (1777) of any real Baptist in Massachusetts being convicted of, or suffering for any crime, except the denying of infant baptism, and the use of secular force in religious affairs.

If a Puritan Court in the seventeenth century, professing to be illuminated with a full blaze of the light of the Reformation, could thus defame the advocates for apostolic principles, will any think it strange if we suspect the frightful accounts which were given of them in darker ages by a set of monkish historians, who believed that fraud and falsehood were christian virtues, if they could be made subservient to the good of the church?

Mr. Hubbard, one of their own historians, speaking of their making this law, says, "but with what success it is

hard to say; all men being naturally inclined to pity them that suffer, &c." The clergy doubtless had a hand in framing this shameful act, as they, at this time, were the secretaries and counsellors of the Legislature.

Mr. Backus' observations upon these measures, and the men by whom they were promoted, are very judicious. "Much (says he) has been said to exalt the characters of the good fathers of that day: I have no desire of detracting from any of their virtues; but the better the men were, the worse must be the principles that could ensnare them in such bad actions."

Mr. Hubbard informs us, that "at a General Court in March, 1645, two petitions were preferred, one for suspending (if not abolishing) a law made against the Anabaptists the former year; the other was for easing a law of like nature made in Mrs. Hutchinson's time, forbidding the entertaining of any strangers, without license of two magistrates, &c. But some, continues the same author, at this time were much afraid of the increase of Anabaptism. This was the reason why the greater part prevailed for the strict observation of the aforesaid laws, although peradventure a little moderation as to some cases might have done very well, if not better. Many books coming out of England in this year, some in defence of Anabaptism and other errors, and for liberty of conscience as a shelter for a general toleration of all opinions—led the ministers—of all the United Colonies to meet at Cambridge, &c." One of the Anabaptist books above referred to was sent by the famous John Tombes. It was an examination of a sermon in defence of infant baptism, preached by Stephen Marshall, and dedicated to the Westminster Assembly. Soon after the news reached England of the law to banish the Baptists, Mr. Tombes sent a copy of his work to the ministers of New-England, and with it an epistle dated from the Temple in London, May 25, 1645, "hoping thereby to put them upon a more exact study of that controversy, and to allay their vehemency against the Baptists." "But the Westminster Assembly, says Backus, were more ready to learn severity from this country, than these were to learn lenity from any."

Soon after Mr. Tombes sent over his book and letter, Sir Henry Vane, whose interest was then very great in Parliament, wrote to Governor Winthrop as follows:

"HONORED SIR,

"I received yours by your son, and was unwilling to let him return without telling you as much. The exercise and troubles which God is pleased to lay upon these kingdoms, and the inhabitants in them, teaches us patience and forbearance one with another in some measure, though there be difference in our opinions, which makes me hope, that from the experience here, it may also be derived to yourselves, lest, while the Congregational way amongst you is in its freedom, and is backed with power, it teach its oppugners here, to extirpate it and root it out, from its own principles and practice. I shall need say no more, knowing your son can acquaint you particularly with our affairs. Sir, I am your affectionate friend, and servant in Christ,

JUNE 10, 1645. H. VANE.

All these remonstrances, however, were unavailing, and the bigoted New-Englanders persisted in their persecuting career. And lest their exterminating laws should not effect the business, the press was set to work to prevent the alarming progress of Anabaptistical errors. In this year, three pieces were written for this purpose by Messrs. Cotton of Boston, Cobbet of Lynn, and Ward of Ipswich, then called by its Indian name Agawam. Cotton and Cobbet lay some strange charges against the devil, for seeking to undermine the cause of infant baptism, because it is not commanded in the Scripture. The reader will doubtless be astonished at this assertion; but let him read the following quotations fairly made, and then he may judge whether it is not correct. Mr. Cotton says, Satan, despairing of success by more powerful arguments, "chooseth rather to play small game, as they say, than lose all. He now pleadeth no other argument in these stirring times of reformation, than may be urged from a main principle of purity and reformation, viz. *That no duty of God's worship, nor any ordinance of religion is to be administered in the church, but such as hath just warrant from the word of God.* And in urging this argument against the baptism of children, Satan transformeth himself into an angel of light,"* and so on. This was the great Mr. Cotton, who, for many years, was the bishop and legislator of New-England. He was doubtless a great and good man; he reasoned well on many subjects, and the absurdity of his arguments here must be ascribed to the weakness of the cause which they were intended to support. His successors have made great improvements in arguing this point, but we must acknowledge

* Cotton's Grounds and Ends of Children's Baptism, p. 3, 4, as quoted by Backus, vol. I. p. 176.

that the Baptists have made none at all. What was their main principle *then*, is their main principle *now*. They wish it not to be altered or amended, but are willing it should stand just as Mr. Cotton has stated it. It has ever proved an insurmountable barrier against all the assaults of their enemies, and so far as it is permitted to operate, is sure to beat down all the inventions of men. But the greatest curiosity is, that this Reverend Divine accuses the devil of helping them to it.

Mr. Cobbet accuses Satan of having a special spite at the seed of the church. He says it is one of Satan's old tricks to create scruples in the hearts of God's people about infant baptism. And *Thus it is written*, and *Thus saith the Lord*, according to this singular divine, are nothing but "*satanical suggestions.*"

The Baptists feel perfectly secure against this kind of logic, and the deceiver of mankind would doubtless be much obliged to his adversaries if they would never assault his kingdom with any more powerful weapons.

The last of this mighty triumvirate does not lay so much of the blame to satan; but his arguments are, if possible, still more weak and contemptible. He accuses the Anabaptists of a "high pitch of boldness in cutting a principal ordinance out of the kingdom of God." He also charges them with the crime of "*dislocating*, *disgooding*, *unhallowing*, *transplacing*, and *transtiming* a stated institution of Jesus Christ." "What a cruelty is it," says he, "to divest children of that only external privilege, which their heavenly Father hath bequeathed them, to interest them visibly in himself, his Son, his Spirit, his covenant of peace, and the tender bosom of their careful mother, the church. What an inhumanity it is, to deprive parents of that comfort they may take from the baptism of their infants dying in their childhood!"*

Had the Pedobaptists in Massachusetts assaulted our brethren with no weapons more powerful than their pens, they would have had nothing to fear. But if the arguments of their divines were weak and contemptible, those of their magistrates were strong and cruel, as we shall soon have occasion to observe.

Hitherto but few instances of corporeal punishments had taken place among our brethren in the Massachusetts colony. Most of the fathers of it were yet alive, and had grown grey in the midst of their persecutions at home,

* Backus, vol. I. p. 184.

and their labours here. It is charitably doubted by some, whether they had it in their hearts at first to imitate the bloody scenes from which they had fled. Such would suppose that their threatening legislative acts were intended merely to be hung out as a terror to dissenters from the idol uniformity which they had set up. But be that as it may, they had established a principle fraught with blood. Roger Williams, secure in his little colony at Providence, foresaw the sanguinary storm, which was approaching, and which, according to his prediction, soon burst upon this Commonwealth, and blotted its annals with an indelible stain. With a view to open the eyes of his old neighbours and associates to the tendency of their maxims, he published his piece, entitled, "*The bloody Tenet*," &c. as early as 1644. But remonstrances were vain. The bloody tenet was scrupulously maintained, and hurried forward to its baneful consequences, so that in 1651, the Baptists were unmercifully whipped, and not long after, the Quakers were murderously hung.

[I have omitted in this place the account of the vexations and persecuting measures against Messrs. Clark and Holmes, and the barbarous scourging inflicted on the latter. The accounts may be found at large in the original of this work, and also in Backus' History.]

In 1663, a church was founded in Swansea, and two years after the church was begun, which afterwards took the name of the first in Boston. In 1685, a church was begun in Dartmouth, about seventy miles southwesterly from Boston. But so slow was the progress of the Baptists in this government, that in a hundred years from the organization of the church in Swansea, they had planted but eighteen churches, which had acquired a permanent standing. Some few besides had arisen during the century which had lost their visibility before its close. Many were the oppressions and privations, which our brethren suffered in this boasted asylum of liberty, until the American War. That calamitous scene, so distressing to the country otherwise, was nevertheless peculiarly auspicious to the cause of religious liberty in this commonwealth, as well as in other colonies, where religious establishments were domineering with tyrannic sway.

Although the war shook very sensibly the system of religious oppression, it was not the cause of its demolition here as it was the case in Virginia. Many of its

bands were indeed broken, yet some by the vigilance of a watchful priesthood were preserved entire. In the unsettled state of affairs, which succeeded the war, the Baptists with Mr. Backus at their head preferred a petition to the Legislature, praying, that ministers should *in future* be supported by Christ's authority, and not at all by assessment and secular force." And had statesmen been let alone in their discussions, it is highly probable that this petition would have been regarded; but the clergy, poor men, were afraid to be left on this precarious ground; they therefore put forth their cries; legislators heard them, pitied their dangerous condition, and disgraced their State Constitution with an article to regulate religious worship, and so on.

But notwithstanding the failure of this righteous request, our brethren, under the new government, found their circumstances materially improved. The predominant party, it is true, still had the power of oppressing them in certain cases, but it was used less frequently than formerly; many became convinced of the truth of Baptist sentiments, and embraced their communion, and many others, who went not so far, were constrained to let them alone. Many new churches soon arose in different parts of the State, so that by the year 1784, their whole number amounted to sixty-four. Twenty more were added to this number during the ten succeeding years. And the number of churches, as well as communicants, have been increasing in about the same proportion, from the last mentioned period to the present time. Their number will be exhibited in the General Table.

In this commonwealth are a part of the Warren Association, all the Boston except one or two small churches, part of those named Sturbridge, Leyden, Westfield, and Shaftsbury. Four of these six Associations, viz. the Boston, Sturbridge, Leyden and Westfield, are considered as having their seat in Massachusetts, and those of Warren and Shaftsbury have always had a large portion of their members and influence in this State.

I have thought proper in farther prosecuting the history of this State, to consider it under two divisions; and the line, which we shall fix upon, will be drawn from about the north-east corner of the State of Rhode-Island, and extend northerly to the State of New-Hampshire. That portion of the State which lies east of this line, I shall consider the first division, and that which lies west of it the second.

FIRST DIVISION.

This division comprehends the oldest settlements as well as the oldest churches in the State, and in it are situated the Warren and Boston Associations. It embraces the counties of Essex, Middlesex, a part of Worcester, the whole of Suffolk, Norfolk, Bristol, Plymouth, Barnstable, Dukes, and Nantucket. It is bounded east and south by the Atlantic ocean.

In this division we find a number of churches distinguished for age and sufferings, and those now called the first in Swansea and Boston, stand the foremost on the list; their history will of necessity occupy more room than that of the rest. They are dated, the first in 1663, and the other in 1665; but both of them were in reality begun a number of years before. Although the Swansea church is the oldest, yet as we shall regard the local and relative situation of the churches about to be described, we shall begin with the one in Boston, and then take notice of the other churches in the northern part of this division, before we come to Swansea and those in the southern.

First Church in Boston. The date of this church has already been given; it existed a few years in Charlestown,* where it was founded, and then its seat was removed to Noddle's Island, a little out in the Massachusetts Bay, where it remained some time before it was established in the town from which it received its name.

We have given a general account of the Baptists in this government up to about the time of the founding of this body, which originated as follows:

Mr. Hubbard, one of the Massachusetts historians, observes, that "while some were studying how baptism might be enlarged and extended to the seed of the faithful in their several generations, there were others as studious to deprive all unadult children thereof, and restrain the privilege only to adult believers."†

"Infant baptism," says Dr. Mather, "hath been scrupled by multitudes in our day, who have been, in other points, most worthy christians, and as holy, watchful, fruitful, and heavenly people, as perhaps any in the world." Some few of these people, he says, were among the first settlers in New-England. Some of their

* Charlestown is separated from Boston by Charles river.

† Backus, vol. I. p. 355.

names have been mentioned, and many things make it probable that there were many more who never happened to fall under the lash of the law, and whose names for that reason do not appear on the page of history; for the Baptists at this time had no one to tell their story, and we never get a view of them, except at the tribunals of their adversaries, in their prisons, or at their whipping-posts.

After being long harassed in courts and churches, a few of our brethren, despairing of better times, and being prepared for the worst, took the bold step of embodying themselves into a church of the Baptist order. The constituents were nine in number; their names were Thomas Gould, Thomas Osburn, Edward Drinker, John George, Richard Goodall, William Turner, Robert Lambert, Mary Goodall, and Mary Newell. Gould and Osburn were members of the Pedobaptist church in Charlestown. Goodall was a member of a Baptist church in London, of which Mr. Kiffin was pastor. His wife was probably a member of the same church. Turner and Lambert were members of a church in Dartmouth, England, whose pastor was a Mr. Stead. Of the others we have not so particular information. Turner accepted a captain's commission in king Philip's war, and lost his life in the defence of a colony, in which he was most cruelly oppressed.

The founding of this church was considered by the Massachusetts people, as a most heinous and heaven-daring offence, and many of the members of it spent most of their time in courts and prisons; they were often fined, and some of them were banished, or at least were ordered to depart out of the jurisdiction, or desist from the error of their way; neither of which however would they do; they were of course denounced obstinate hereticks, and suffered accordingly. "It would take a volume," says Morgan Edwards, "to contain an account of all their sufferings for ten or twelve years."

The ostensible reason, which their enemies urged for distressing them, was, that they had formed a church without the approbation of their ministers and rulers. "This principle," says Mr. Neal, "condemns all the dissenting congregations, which have been formed in England since the act of uniformity in the year 1662." The fact was, they were determined that no churches should be formed only upon their own plan. Our breth-

ren well knew that no such permission would be granted, and, besides, they could not in principle solicit the favour. And finding by experience that the churches, established by law, would not suffer them to live quietly in their communion, nor peaceably separate from it, they resolved to set up a standard of their own, and united "in a solemn covenant in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, to walk in fellowship and communion together, in the practice of all the holy appointments of Christ, which he had, or should further make known to them."

"The king's commissioners being here," says Mr. Backus, "caused the court not to lay hold of these people so soon as otherwise they might have done. But in August a note was entered in Roxbury church records, and published in an Almanack, which has been communicated to me in these words: the Anabaptists gathered themselves into a church, prophesied one by one, and some one among them administered the Lord's supper after he was regularly excommunicated by the church at Charlestown; they also set up a lecture at Drinker's house, once a fortnight."

Thomas Gould was the founder of this church, and for many years had the principal share of the sufferings it underwent. The manner in which he came to embrace the Baptist sentiments, and the treatment of the church in Charlestown towards him, are thus related by himself.

"It having been a long time a scruple to me about infant baptism, God was pleased at last to make it clear to me by the rule of the gospel, that children were not capable nor fit subjects for such an ordinance, because Christ gave this commission to his apostles, first to preach to make them disciples, and then to baptize them, which infants were not capable of; so that I durst not bring forth my child to be partaker of it: so looking that my child had no right to it, which was in the year 1655, when the Lord was pleased to give me a child; I staid some space of time and said nothing, to see what the church would do with me. On a third day of the week when there was a meeting at my house, to keep a day of thanksgiving to God, for his mercy shown to my wife, at that time one coming to the meeting brought a note from the elders of the church to this effect, that they desired me to come down on the morrow to the elder's house, and to send word again what time of that day I would come, and they would stay at home for me; and if I

could not come that day to send them word. I looking on the writing with many friends with me, I told them I had promised to go another way on the morrow. Master Dunstar (probably President Dunstar) being present, desired me to send them word that I could not come on the morrow, but that I would come any other time that they would appoint me; and so I sent word back by the same messenger. The fifth day meeting with elder Green, I told him how it was; he told me it was well, and that they would appoint another day when he had spoken with the pastor, and then they would send me word. This lay about two months before I heard any more from them. On a first day in the afternoon one told me I must stop, for the church would speak with me. They called me out, and Master Sims told the church, that this brother did withhold his child from baptism, and that they had sent unto him to come down on such a day to speak with them, and if he could not come on that day, to set a day when he would be at home; but he refusing to come, would appoint no time, when we writ to him to take his own time, and send us word. I replied that there was no such word in the letter, for me to appoint the day; but what time of that day I should come. Mr. Sims stood up and told me, *I did lie*, for they sent to me to appoint the day. I replied again, that there was no such thing in the letter. He replied again, that they did not set down a time, and not a day, therefore he told me it was a lie, and that they would leave my judgment, and deal with me for a lie; and told the church, that he and the elder agreed to write, that if I could not come that day, to appoint the time when I could come, and that he read it after the elder writ it, and the elder affirmed it was so; but I still replied there was no such thing in the letter, and thought I could produce the letter. They bid me let them see the letter, or they would proceed against me for a lie. Brother Thomas Wilder, sitting before me, stood up and told them, that it was so in the letter as I said, for he read it when it came to me. But they answered it was not so, and bid him produce the letter, or they would proceed with me; he said I think I can produce the letter, and forthwith took it out of his pocket, which I wondered at; and I desired him to give it to Mr. Russell to read, and so he did, and he read it very faithfully, and it was just as I had said, that I must send them word what time of that

day I would come down; so that their mouths were stopped, and master Sims put it off and said he was mistaken, for he thought he had read it otherwise; but the elder said, this is nothing, let us proceed with him for his judgment. Now let any man judge what a fair beginning this was, and if you wait awhile you may see as fair an ending. They called me forth to know why I would not bring my child to baptism? My answer was, I did not see any rule of Christ for it, for that ordinance belongs to such as can make profession of their faith, as the Scripture doth plainly hold forth. They answered me, that was meant of grown persons and not of children. But that which was most alleged by them was, that children were capable of circumcision in the time of the law, and therefore as capable in the time of the gospel, of baptism; and asked me, why children were not to be baptized in the time of the gospel, as well as children were circumcised in the time of the law? My answer was, God gave a strict command in the law for the circumcision of children; but we have no command in the gospel, nor example, for the baptizing of children. Many other things were spoken, then a meeting was appointed by the church the next week at Mr. Russell's.

"Being met at Mr. Russell's house, Mr. Sims took a writing out of his pocket, wherein he had drawn up many arguments for infant baptism, and told the church that I must answer those arguments, which I suppose he had drawn from some author, and told me I must keep to those arguments. My answer was, I thought the church had met together to answer my scruples, and to satisfy my conscience by a rule of God, and not for me to answer his writing. He said he had drawn it up for the help of his memory, and desired we might go on. Then I requested three things of them. 1st, That they should not make me offender for a word. 2nd, They should not drive me faster than I was able to go. 3d, That if any present should see cause to clear up any thing that is spoken by me, they might have their liberty without offence; because here are many of you that have their liberty to speak against me if you see cause. But it was denied, and Mr. Sims was pleased to reply, that he was able to deal with me himself, and that I knew it. So we spent four or five hours speaking to many things to and again, but so hot both sides, that we quickly forgot and went from the arguments that were written. At last one

of the company stood up and said, I will give you one plain place of Scripture where children were baptized. I told him that would put an end to the controversy. That place is in the 2d of the Acts, 39th and 40th verses. After he had read the Scripture, Master Sims told me that promise belonged to infants, for the Scripture saith, *The promise is to you and your children, and to all that are afar off;* and he said no more; to which I replied, *Even so many as the Lord our God shall call.* Mr. Sims replied that I spoke blasphemously in adding to the Scriptures. I said, pray do not condemn me, for if I am deceived, my eyes deceive me. He replied again, I added to the scripture, which was blasphemy. I looking into my Bible, read the words again, and said it was so. He replied the same words a third time before the church. Mr. Russell stood up and told him it was so as I had read it. Ay, it may be so in your Bible, saith Mr. Sims. Mr. Russell answered, yea, in yours too if you will look into it. Then he said he was mistaken, for he thought on another place; so after many other words we broke up for that time."

In much the same manner the church proceeded with their obnoxious brother, until Master Sims, who was not only a petulant but an ignorant priest, put on him the second admonition. "This," says he, "continued a long time before they called me out again. In the mean time, I had some friends, who came to me out of old England, who were Baptists, and desired to meet at my house on a first day, which I granted; of these was myself, my wife, and Thomas Osbourne, that were of their church. Afterward they called me forth, and asked why I kept the meeting in private on the Lord's day, and did not come to the publick? My answer was, "I know not what reason the church had to call me forth." They asked me if I was not a member of that church? I told them they had not acted toward me as a member, who had put me by the ordinances of Christ seven years ago; they had denied me the privileges of a member. They asked whether I looked upon admonition as an appointment of Christ? I told them, "yes, but not to lie under it above seven years, and to be put by the ordinances of Christ in the church; for the rule of Christ is first to deal with men in the first and second place, and then in the third place before the church; but the first time that ever they dealt with me, they called me before the whole church." Many meetings we had about this

thing, whether I was a member or not, but could come to no conclusion ; for I still affirmed that their actings rendered me no member. Then Mr. Sims told the church that I was ripe for excommunication, and was very earnest for it ; but the church would not consent."

It was not till some time after this, that they "delivered him up to Satan for not hearing the church."

This account was found by Backus among Mr. Callender's papers. It gives the reader a view of the spirit of the times, and also of the deliberate manner in which Mr. Gould proceeded amidst a constant scene of irritation and abuse. It appears from a number of expressions in different parts of the narrative, which have not been extracted, that he would have preferred remaining with his Pedobaptist brethren, if they would have permitted him to enjoy his Baptist principles in peace ; but because he could not in conscience bring out his babe to be christened, they drove him on to a separation, which he did not meditate at first.

The New-England persecutors, we would charitably believe, were actuated more by their principles than dispositions. They certainly conducted the business in a bungling and ridiculous manner, and at times manifested some misgivings for their injustice and absurdity.

After Mr. Gould and his companions had been condemned as hereticks and law-breakers, fined and imprisoned for non-conformity, they were challenged to a public dispute upon their peculiar sentiments, that it might be determined whether they were erroneous or not! The six following divines, viz. Messrs. John Allen, Thomas Cobbet, John Higginson, Samuel Danforth, Jonathan Mitchell and Thomas Shepard, were nominated to manage the dispute on the Pedobaptist side, which was appointed to be April 14, 1668, in the meeting house in Boston, at 9 o'clock in the morning. But lest these six learned clergymen should not be a match for a few illiterate Baptists, the Governor and magistrates were requested to meet with them. The news of this dispute soon spread abroad, and Mr. Clark's church in Newport sent William Hiscox, Joseph Tory, and Samuel Hubbard, to assist their brethren in Boston in it, who arrived there three days before it was to come on. No particular account of this dispute has been preserved. Mr. Backus has made an extract of considerable length from a paper supposed to have been written by Mr. Gould's wife, in

which some things respecting it are mentioned, and by which it appears that the Baptists instead of having full liberty to vindicate their sentiments, were called together only to be tantalized and abused. "When the disputants were met, there was a long speech made by one of them of what vile persons the Baptists were, and how they acted against the churches and government here, and stood condemned by the court. The others desiring liberty to speak, they would not suffer them, but told them they stood there as delinquents, and ought not to have liberty to speak. Then they desired they might choose a moderator as well as they; but they denied them. Two days were spent to little purpose. In the close Master Jonathan Mitchell pronounced that dreadful sentence against them in Deut. 17th chapter, from the 8th to the end of the 12th verse." The passage is as follows: *If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke, being matters of controversy, within thy gates; then shalt thou arise, and get thee up into the place, which the Lord thy God shall choose: And thou shalt come unto the priests, the Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days, and inquire; and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgment. And thou shalt do according to the sentence which they of that place, which the Lord shall choose, shall shew thee; and thou shalt observe to do according to all that they inform thee: According to the sentence of the law, which they shall teach thee, and according to the judgment which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do: thou shalt not decline from the sentence which they shall shew thee, to the right hand nor to the left. And the man, that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the priest, that standeth to minister them before the Lord thy God, or unto the judge, even that man shall die: and thou shalt put away the evil from Israel.*

This was the same Mitchell, who was afraid to converse with President Dunstar, lest his mind should be shaken upon infant baptism; who found such satanical scruples against it, that he had much ado to write his sermons for Sunday; and who, in the end, resolved that he would have an *argument able to remove a mountain*, before he would give it up.

So far as we can gain information of the management of this dispute, on the part of the Pedobaptists, it exceeded in cowardly and contemptible tyranny, any thing of

the kind we read of in England.* We will excuse in part the men, and lay the most of the blame at the door of their popish, ever hurtful principles of confounding together the Jewish and Christian dispensations, of placing Aaron and Moses in the same chair, and of committing the defence of the church to the civil power.

After Mr. Gould was released, he went to live on Noddle's Island in Boston harbour, where the church assembled for some years. At what time it was removed to Boston, is not certain; but it was not till after the year 1672.

The next members, who were added to it after its constitution, were Isaac Hull, John Farnum, Jacob Barney, John Russell, jun. John Johnson, George Farnam, Benjamin Sweetser, and Ellis Callender, all before 1669. After them were added Joshua Turner, Thomas Foster, John Russell, sen. William Hamlit, James Loudon, Thomas Skinner, John Williams, Philip Squire, Mary Gould, Susanna Jackson, Mary Greenleaf, &c.

Mr. Gould died in 1675. I can learn nothing more of his history than what has been related in the preceding sketches. It is much to be regretted that a more particular account of him has not been preserved; his name ought to be recorded on the tallest page of the history of the New-England Baptists; and when the reader considers that the church, which he founded, included the whole of the Baptist interest in the colony of Massachusetts, for about seventy years, he will not think it improper to give this lengthy and particular account of its origin.

Mr. Gould was succeeded in the pastoral office by Isaac Hull. How long he continued among them, their records do not show.

John Russell was his successor, and it seems probable that both of these ministers preached in the church at the same time. They were companions in sufferings, having both been fined and imprisoned for non-conformity. Of Mr. Hull, we have scarce any account. Of Mr.

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* Neal somewhere mentions that an English Bishop got so exasperated against the dissenters around him, that he appointed a day in which he would dispute with them, and prove them all hereticks, &c. When the day came, a vast concourse assembled, and when the bishop began to rail, the Quakers paid him in his own coin, and brow-beat him so hard that he was forced to yield; as he was going to his house, they followed him with shouts, *The hireling fleeth! The hireling fleeth!*

Russell, the following sketches have been preserved. He was ordained in 1679, but died the next year. Previous to his death he wrote a narrative of the sufferings of this little flock, which was sent over to London, and printed in 1680, with a preface to it by Messrs. William Kiffin, Daniel Dyke, William Collins, Hansard Knollys, John Harris, and Nehemiah Cox. These eminent Baptist ministers made some very severe but judicious reflections on the unaccountable conduct of the New-England fathers. It seems strange, said they, that christians in New-England should pursue the very same persecuting measures, which they fled from Old-England to avoid? This argument they knew not how to withstand, and their reasonings against it were altogether frivolous and contemptible. *Protestants*, said they, *ought not to persecute Protestants, yet that Protestants may punish Protestants cannot be denied!* Because Mr. Russell was by occupation a shoe-maker, many low, abusive reflections were made upon him, even after he was dead. One of the Boston divines published an answer to his narrative, with a Latin title, the English of which was, *Cobler, keep to your Last.* Dr. Mather published a piece in which he accused the Baptists of the sin of Jeroboam, in making priests of the lowest order of the people, &c. Mr. Willard said, "Truly if Goodman Russell was a fit man for a minister, we have but fooled ourselves in building colleges and in instructing children in learning." Hubbard, who was generally more candid and fair than the rest, in speaking of the narrative, &c. observed, "One John Russell, a wedder drop'd shoe-maker, stitched up a pamphlet, wherein he endeavours to clear the innocency of those commonly (though falsely he says) called Anabaptists." In this scurrilous manner was this honest and worthy minister treated by his impotent adversaries. But had he and his associates met with nothing more than the revilings of priests, their case would have been less deplorable; but to these were added forfeitures, stripes, and prisons.

Those three eminent ministers of Swansea, Job, Russell, and John Mason, were great-grand-children of this worthy but much despised man.

In 1678, this church built them a house for worship, out of which, however, they were soon shut, and a long difficulty ensued upon the matter. They had been often reproached for meeting in *private houses*, "but since," said they, "we have for our convenience obtained a

public house, on purpose for that use, we are become more offensive than before." Their leaders were convented before the General Court, who not finding any old law to suit their purpose, made a new one, which forbid their assembling, and they furthermore enacted that their house, and all houses for worship, which were built without legal permission, together with the premises, appurtenances, &c. should be forfeited to the use of the county, and be disposed of by the county-treasurer, by sale or demolishing, as the court that gave judgment in the case should order.

This affair went the whole round of courts and legislatures. The patient little flock submitted quietly to the orders of the sanctimonious court, and "waited to see what God would do for them."

Not long after this, the king of England wrote to the Massachusetts rulers, "requiring that *liberty of conscience* should be allowed to all protestants, so as that they might not be discountenanced from sharing in the government, much less that no good subjects of his, for not agreeing in the Congregational way, should by law be subjected to *fines* and *forfeitures*, or other incapacities for the same, which, said his majesty, is a severity the more to be wondered at, whereas liberty of conscience was made a principal motive for your transportation into those parts." But this remonstrance from the throne was disregarded by the priest-led magistrates.

Deplorable indeed, says Mr. Backus, was the case of these brethren; but having information of the king's letter in their favour, they again presumed to meet in their house, which they had done but a few times, before they were again called before the canting, vexatious court, to answer for their high offence of worshipping God contrary to law. But being emboldened by the royal mandate in their favour, they began to take a bolder stand against the unrighteous encroachments of their adversaries.

But the next thing we hear of, the doors were nailed up by the Marshall, and a paper put on them, which said,

"All persons are to take notice, that by order of the court, the doors of this house are shut up, and that they are inhibited to hold any meeting, or to open the doors thereof without license from authority, till the General Court take further order, as they will answer the contrary at their peril Dated at Boston, 8th March, 1680.

"EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary*."

The church thought fit to regard this paper blockade, and accordingly the next Lord's-day assembled in their yard; and in the ensuing week erected a shed for their covering. But when they came together the second Lord's day, they found their doors opened, and since then they have been left to the care of the sexton, and not constables and sheriffs. But the leaders of the church were convented before the Assembly, the May following, where they plead, 1st, *That the house was their own.* 2d, *That it was built when there was no law to forbid it, therefore, they were not transgressors.* 3d, *That it was the express will and pleasure of the king that they should enjoy their liberty.* After some reviling speeches were cast upon them, they were publicly admonished by the Governor, pardoned for their past offences, but prohibited from meeting in their house for the future without permission from the authority. But it does not appear that this prohibition was regarded either by the church or the rulers.

These scenes transpired during the lives of Elders Hull and Russell. They were the principal leaders of the church through all this perplexing affair, and for that reason we have thought proper to relate it in connexion with their history.

Mr. Hull survived Mr. Russell nine years, and how much longer, the records of the church do not show; but being aged and feeble, and often incapable of ministerial work, they sent over to England, and obtained for their next pastor, John Emblen, who arrived here in 1684, and continued in office until 1699, when he died. Nothing farther can be learnt of his character, than that he was well esteemed.

After Mr. Emblen's death, this church wrote again to England for another minister, but could not obtain one. They next applied to Mr. Scriven, of Charleston, South-Carolina, who had been one of their number; but he informed them, that he could by no means be spared. "But if," says he, "the Lord do not please to supply you, in the way you expected, your way will be to improve the gifts you have in the church. Brother Ellis Callender and Joseph Russell, I know have gifts that may tend to edification," &c. Pursuant to this advice, the church called Mr. Callender to the ministry shortly after, and in 1708, he was ordained their pastor, which office he sustained to the edification of his flock a number of

years. He had been a member of the church thirty-nine years before he was ordained, and "continued in high esteem among them, till 1726, "when he must not have been far from eighty years of age.

His son, Elisha Callender, became his successor, and continued in the pastoral office, until his death, which happened in 1738. He appears to have been the first learned pastor of this flock, and was distinguished for a pious and successful ministry. He was educated at Cambridge, and was ordained in 1718, by the assistance of three Pedobaptist ministers, viz. Dr. Increase Mather, Dr. Cotton Mather, and Mr. John Webb. This was a singular event in those days, and probably no great good came out of it in the end. Both parties must have strained a point in order to unite on such an important occasion. The sermon was preached by the younger Dr. Mather, which was entitled, *Good Men United.* In it are some very respectful addresses to the Baptist church, and a number of very severe reflections on their persecutors. *Happy*, says Backus, *is he that condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth.*

This temporary expression of catholicism promised more than was afterwards realized. The report of it in England, induced Thomas Hollis, Esq. a wealthy merchant of the Baptist persuasion, to become one of the most liberal benefactors to Cambridge College, that it ever enjoyed.*

Mr. Callender was succeeded by Jeremiah Condy, who was ordained in 1739. He was educated at Cambridge College, where he graduated in 1726. He went over to

* His benefactions to this Institution were astonishingly great; for besides making large additions to its library, he founded two professorships, one of Theology and one of Mathematicks and Experimental Philosophy, with a salary of eighty pounds each. In addition to these, he endowed the College with funds to the amount of a hundred pounds a year, to be distributed among ten scholars of good character, four of them should be Baptists, if any such were there. He also provided ten pounds a year to the College Treasurer for his trouble, and ten pounds a year to supply accidental losses, or to increase the number of Students. Thus it appears, that this worthy and munificent Baptist must have bestowed upon this Pedobaptist University, funds to the amount of almost five thousand pounds. A philosophical apparatus which cost £150 sterling was sent over in 1726.

These endowments have doubtless been of much use to the college; but the advantages which Mr. Hollis expected the Baptists to derive from his unexampled generosity, have never been realized.

England not long after, and tarried there until he was called by this church to become its pastor. His doctrinal sentiments were less orthodox than those of his predecessors; and four years after his settlement a number of his members withdrew and founded the Second Church of Boston, as will be more particularly related when we come to their history. The church did not flourish under his ministry, but was in a declining state, when the care of it devolved on the renowned

Samuel Stillman, D. D. This eminent minister, who afterwards shone as a star of the first magnitude among the American Baptists, became the pastor of this church in 1765, just a hundred years from its beginning. Mr. Condy from that period retired to a private station, and died in 1768, aged 59 years. Dr. Stillman's ministry was long and prosperous, and whatever peculiar events transpired, during its continuance, will be related in his biography.

He was succeeded by Joseph, more commonly called Judge Clay. This eminent man, as he said to a friend a little before his death, had in the ministry *a rapid and peculiar course.* He was born in Savannah, Georgia, August 16, 1764. He graduated at Princeton college, New-Jersey, in 1784, and after preparatory studies commenced the practice of law, in which profession he continued until 1795. The year following he was appointed Judge of the District of Georgia, and continued on the bench until 1801. Although he had been instructed in the Holy Scriptures from a child, and had manifested an habitual reverence for the christian religion, it was not until the year 1803, that he made a public profession, and joined the Baptist church at Savannah, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Holcombe. This church called him to the ministry, and in 1804, he was ordained in their fellowship as an assistant pastor with Mr. Holcombe. In September, 1806, Mr. Clay made a visit to the New-England States, and preached in most of the principal towns to very general satisfaction. And as this church had, for a considerable time, been contemplating an *assistant pastor*, (on account of the advanced age, and increasing infirmities of Dr. Stillman, and by his particular desire) they unanimously agreed to invite him to come and take upon him that office, and in the event of the Doctor's death, to become their sole pastor. To this invitation he signified his acceptance the December following, so far

as to consent to come and spend one year with them, and then be at liberty to act as duty might appear. While the church was anxiously waiting the period of his arrival, Dr. Stillman was suddenly removed from his pastoral office by death. On the 16th of June following, Mr. Clay arrived in Boston with his family, to the great joy of that afflicted people. The favourable impressions under which he commenced his public labours, seemed to presage his future usefulness and prosperity. Mr. Clay continued his ministrations with this people, until the beginning of November, 1808; when agreeably to his previous engagement, he left them, and sailed for Savannah, expecting to return to them again in the spring. But soon after, finding his health declining, he wrote to the church, proposing to them to look out for another pastor, and soon after requested a dismission from his pastoral care. On the 27th of October, 1809, the church addressed an affectionate letter to him, in which they signified their compliance with his request. As part of the family were resident in Boston, Mrs. Clay came with the remainder on a visit in November of that year, having left him much as usual, excepting a depression of spirits occasioned by her coming away. But finding his complaints increasing, and urged by a desire to be with his family, he soon after embarked for Boston, and arrived there, December, 1810. Although in a very feeble, debilitated state, no serious apprehensions were at first entertained respecting his recovery. But it was soon perceived that his complaints became daily more and more alarming, notwithstanding the continued efforts of the best medical aid. Exhausted nature at length gave up the conflict, and on the 11th of January, 1811, he gently fell asleep in Jesus, being in the 47th year of his age. Mr. Clay was above the middling stature; his form elegant, his countenance comely, and his manners, though somewhat reserved, were easy and graceful. As a christian, his deportment was modest, grave, and humble. Though accustomed to move in the higher circles of life, yet, as a christian minister, he cheerfully condescended to men of low estate. As a public speaker he held a respectable rank. His voice was pleasant and harmonious, his gestures natural, and his language generally classical and pure. His system of doctrine was highly Calvinistical, and it is believed he never shunned to declare what he thought to be the *whole counsel of God*. The divinity

of Christ, his obedience and death, together with the work of the Holy Spirit in renewing the heart, and in comforting the saints, were sentiments, which he enforced with much interest and ability.

Judge Clay lived but about seven years after he entered the ministry, most of which time he spent in itinerating in different parts of the United States. The novelty of such a distinguished statesman becoming a Baptist minister, collected large assemblies wherever he preached, and many learned characters flocked to hear their professional brother. Some of his discourses were of the most masterly kind, and displayed, in a very attracting manner, the splendid resourses of his devout and highly cultivated mind. At other times that nervous affection and depression of spirits, of which he was frequently the unhappy subject, in a measure unfitted him for the labours of the pulpit; but his most desultory performances were pious and affectionate, and in many instances truly eloquent. His preaching was blessed to the awakening and comforting of numbers in different places. He left behind him a large circle of sincere friends to mourn his early removal.

After remaining destitute of a pastor about four years this church had the happiness to settle among them the Rev. James Manning Winchell, a young man of promising talents and of great activity and usefulness.

He was rising fast to eminence and respectability both in the church and in the world, and sanguine and confident calculations were made of his future exertions and influence; but it pleased a wise Providence in a mysterious manner to cut him down in the midst of his course, and thus disappoint the fond hopes of the church and of his numerous friends.

Mr. Winchell, was the son of Col. Martin E. Winchell, of the State of New-York. He departed this life Feb. 22, 1820. Dr. Baldwin preached the funeral sermon.

In 1808, Mr. Winchell, entered Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. On account of his sentiments as a Baptist, and by the consent of President Nott, he removed his connexions to Brown University, Providence, R. I. in 1811, and graduated the next year. In the early part of his College life, Mr. W. experienced the power of the gospel on his heart. In 1813, the Baptist Church in Bristol, R. I. invited him to supply their pulpit one year: and in June

he was there solemnly ordained to the work of an Evangelist. At the expiration of this engagement, he received an invitation from the First Baptist Church in Boston to preach for them: and, on the 30th of March, 1814, he was installed as their pastor. God was pleased to approbate this union, by the increase of the Christian graces in the hearts of his people, and by many additions to the Church. We are taught by the death of this worthy minister of Christ, that nothing amiable in manners, excellent in talents, or fervent in piety, can, for a moment, secure our continuance in this world. In July, 1819, Mr. W. was arrested from his various duties, by that disease which terminated his earthly existence. During his confinement, by a lingering consumption, he was blessed with a calm and submissive mind; and died in the faith of that gospel he had so faithfully preached to others. By this afflictive dispensation, society has lost a valuable member—the learned, an interesting associate—a wife, one of the best of husbands—three small children, an affectionate father—the stranger and acquaintance an hospitable friend—a beloved church and society, a dear pastor—and Zion, an able advocate.

The original house built in 1678 was small; but I do not find by any records or tradition that any alteration was made in it until 1771; then it was removed, and a new one built, 53 feet by 57. This house was enlarged in 1791, to its present dimensions, which are 77 feet by 57.

Second Church in Boston. This church proceeded from the First in 1743. As it arose after the storm of persecution was over, and has never experienced any vicissitudes except what are common in the progress of such churches, in peaceable times, its history will be short compared with the one we have just related.

While Mr. Condy was pastor of the first church, a number of its members became dissatisfied with his doctrinal sentiments, which appear to have been different from those on which that body was founded, or which it has maintained since his time. These brethren sent in a protest to the church, in which they stated many articles of grievance; but the substance of all was, that their pastor was what they called an Arminian; and that if matters remained as they were, they should be under the painful necessity of proceeding to a separation. This was in September, 1742, and as they obtained no satisfaction, in

July of the next year, seven brethren, viz. James Bound, John Proctor, Ephraim Bosworth, John Dabney, Thomas Boucher, Ephraim Bound, and Thomas Lewis, formed themselves into a new church, and elected Ephraim Bound their pastor. James Bound and Mr. Dabney were from England; Boucher was from Wales; Proctor was of Boston; Bosworth was of Hull near to Boston, and having no children, he gave the church a good estate, the remains of which they still enjoy. Of the other brethren we have no particular account. Not long after this church began its progress, one Philip Freeman came over from London and united with them. He sent over an account of their principles and conduct to Dr. Gill, which met the approbation of that illustrious divine, and induced him to make them a generous donation of the following articles, viz. one large cup, four smaller ones, two dishes, two plates and a large damask cloth for the communion table; 7 sets of baptismal garments, viz. one for the minister, three for men, and three more for women, and books to the amount of about fifty dollars. At the same time they received a further gift of forty-eight volumes of the sermons of the then late Rev. Mr. Hill, an Independent minister of London, successor to Dr. Ridgley. The sermons were sent by the author's father, to be given away at the direction of the church.

Mr. Bound's ordination was a matter of some difficulty, as no ministers could be found near to assist on the occasion. The church applied to the aged Mr. Wightman, of Groton, Connecticut, but he was too old and infirm to undertake such a journey. Finally, Mr. Bound went to Warwick, Rhode-Island, where he met the venerable Elder from Groton, and was ordained by him, Dr. Green of Leicester, and an Elder Whipple. "Mr. Bound was a plain, unlettered man, but an able minister of the New-Testament: like Apollos he was mighty in the Scriptures, and the want of human learning was abundantly made up by that gracious unction, with which God was pleased to favour him. Numbers came from considerable distance to hear the word, and additions were made to the church, not only of the inhabitants of Boston, but also from Hull, Newton, Needham, Medfield, Chelmsford, Lynn, and other places."* Under his ministry the church

* Dr. Baldwin's Sermon at the opening of the New Meeting House, in 1811, p. 25, 26.

increased from seven to a hundred and twenty, and many were awakened by his means who joined to Pedobaptist churches. But in the midst of prosperity and usefulness, in the 20th year of his ministry, he was seized by a paralytic shock, from the effects of which he never fully recovered. He died 1765, much lamented by his flock and friends, but with a comfortable assurance of a blessed immortality. During his feeble state, the church obtained occasional assistance from others, particularly from the late Dr. Stillman, who, at their invitation, removed from Bordentown, New-Jersey, and served them as an assistant to Mr. Bound, for the space of one year.

The second pastor of this church was Mr. John Davis, a native of the State of Delaware, and a son of David Davis, one of the pastors of the Welsh Track church, in that State. He was educated in the University of Pennsylvania, and commenced his labours here in the spring of 1770. His ministry in Boston was short, but highly respectable. He, in company with Mr. Backus, took an active part against the oppressive measures of the ruling party, and in 1771, he was chosen by the Warren Association, as their agent, to use his influence both in Massachusetts and in London, to obtain the establishment of equal religious liberty in the land. In the prosecution of this agency, the nature of which will be explained in Mr. Backus' biography, he met with the cordial approbation of his friends, but with much abusive treatment from the opposite party. Every thing in Mr. Davis presaged a course of distinguished usefulness. His learning, abilities, and zeal, were adequate to any services to which his brethren might call him. Mr. Backus had now begun his history, and had the promise of assistance from this literary companion; but a mysterious Providence saw fit to cut him down almost in the beginning of his course. In about two years after his settlement in Boston, he went into a decline. By the advice of his friends he returned to his native State, hoping that a softer atmosphere might remove his complaints. And having in some measure recovered his health, with a view of confirming it, he set out on a journey into the western country, in company with Dr. David Jones, of Pennsylvania, and near the Ohio River, December 13th, 1773, after an illness of three weeks, finished his earthly course, in the 36th year of his age. His last words, according to Mr. Jones' account, were, "In a little time, I expect to be with

Christ, to see and know him as he is known, and as he is not known. My faith in my Saviour is unshaken." Mr. Davis was a member of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia; and was also one of the Fellows of the Baptist College at Providence.

The third pastor of this church was Isaac Skillman, D. D. a native of New-Jersey, and a graduate of Princeton College. Mr. Skillman was sent out into the ministry by the first church in New-York, and having been ordained there, it was mutually agreed that he should discharge the pastoral duties here, without a formal installation. He commenced his labours in 1773, and continued them until 1787, a period of fourteen years. At his own request, he was then dismissed, and returned to New-Jersey. He afterwards took the charge of the Salem church in that State, where he closed his life and ministry together a few years since. Dr. Skillman was a man of learning and abilities, but never very popular as a preacher.

The fourth in office here, was Thomas Gair, a native of the town, and a graduate of Providence College. Mr. Gair was awakened under the ministry of Dr. Stillman, when about sixteen years of age, and soon after joined the church of which he was pastor. Not long after he had finished his education, in which he was assisted by his friends, he was settled in Medfield, where he continued about ten years. Peculiar circumstances then making it necessary for him to leave that people, he, upon the removal of Dr. Skillman, began to labour here, and in a few months after was publicly installed in the pastoral office. "To undissembled piety and respectable talents, Mr. Gair added a dignified deportment, and a gentleness of manners, which rendered him highly acceptable to all classes of people." But while rising into eminence and usefulness, he was suddenly arrested with a nervous, putrid fever, of which he died, April 27th, 1790, in the 36th year of his age.

Thomas Baldwin, D. D. the present pastor of this body, was the immediate successor of Mr. Gair, and was invested with the pastoral office, November, 1790. He was born at Norwich in Connecticut, the birth place of Mr. Backus, December 23, 1753. He was ordained in Canaan, New-Hampshire, in 1783, and laboured in that town, and adjoining ones, until he removed to his present situation. Dr. Baldwin has been the pastor of this church thirty years, and under his successful ministry, it has increased to a large and flourishing body.

In 1803, a revival commenced, which became extensive in its prevalence; it continued for more than two years, in which time about two hundred were added to this church, and nearly the same number to the First.

The first house of worship erected by this church was small, and was finished in 1746. This was enlarged during the ministry of Mr. Gair, in 1789. Another addition was made to it in 1797, which made it 69 feet by 53; but this large building was generally well filled, and often crowded to an uncomfortable degree. The Congregation continuing to increase, and the house, which was built of wood, needing considerable repairs, it was, in 1810, removed to make room for their present spacious edifice, of brick, covered with slate, and is eighty feet by seventy-five, exclusive of the tower, which is 38 feet by eighteen. This house, exclusive of some costly appendages, was built at the expense of more than 22,000 dollars.

Third Church in Boston.—This body was formed in 1807, of 24 members, 19 of whom were from the Second Church, and 5 from the First. Nothing very special has occurred during its progress. The motives which led to its formation were, that the great revival in this town in 1803, and onward, increased the two churches so much, that many were unable to get seats in their houses, and they conceived, that the state of religion in the town rendered it peculiarly desirable, that another place should be erected, where the name of Jesus, and the discriminating truths of the gospel, might be proclaimed.

In 1806, a house for worship was begun, which was opened August 5th, 1807, the same day the church was formed. This house is situated on Charles-Street, in the west part of the town; it is built of brick, 75 feet square, exclusive of the tower. It is an elegant edifice, adorned with a cupola and bell, and cost 27,000 dollars. The lot is but a little larger than the house, most of which was given by the Mount Vernon Company.

The same year this church was formed, Mr. Caleb Blood, of Shaftsbury, Vermont, became its pastor, which office he sustained about three years, when he removed to Portland, Maine.

Successor to him is Mr. Daniel Sharp, who was born at Huddersfield, in Yorkshire, England, in 1783; his father is pastor of the Baptist church at Forsley, near Leeds, in the same county. Mr. Sharp came to America in 1805, and was sent into the ministry by the Fayette-

Street Church, New-York, the year following. After studying about two years with Dr. Staughton, of Philadelphia, he became pastor of the church in Newark, New-Jersey, where he continued until the autumn of 1811, when he came on to Boston; and the ensuing spring was invested with the pastoral care of this body. It has flourished much under his ministry, and is now in a happy and prosperous condition.

African Church.—This community of sable brethren arose in 1805; their number at first was twenty, most of whom were the fruits of the ministry of Mr. Thomas Paul, a man of their own colour, who is their present pastor. The year after this church was formed, they began to make exertions towards building them a place of worship. They chose a committee to make collections; among whom was Cato Gardiner, a native of Africa, who had long been one of Dr. Stillman's respectable members. Cato was all alive in the business; by his importunity Dr. Stillman drew a subscription paper, which he circulated in different places, and obtained about fifteen hundred dollars. Cato, notwithstanding his age, had faith to believe that his brethren would have a house for their use, and that he should live to see it finished, which he did, and soon after died. Others of the church made collections to a considerable amount, and having received encouragement to go forward in their design, they chose a committee of white men to superintend their building, which was finished in 1806. This house is built of brick 40 feet by 48, three stories high. The lower story is fitted up for a school room, for coloured children, and has been occupied for that purpose from the time it was finished. The two upper stories are well finished with pews, pulpit, galleries, &c. the lot is small, and that with the house cost 8,000 dollars.

Mr. Paul, the pastor of this flock, was born in Exeter, New-Hampshire, in 1773; he was sent into the ministry by the church in Limerick, Maine, at the age of 23. He has preached successfully in various places both before and since he was settled in Boston.

Notwithstanding our brethren in Boston were so severely persecuted at first, yet the storm was soon over, and they lived in the undisturbed enjoyment of their rights, while their brethren, in different parts of the country, were fleeced, imprisoned, and distressed in various ways. The reason for this difference was, that in

this town all monies for religious purposes are collected by a tax on the pews, and not on the estates of the worshippers. This custom has prevailed from early times, and Mr. Backus assures us, that no one of the Baptist persuasion has been obliged to pay any money to the Congregationalists since about 1690.

From the First Church in Boston have originated, 1st, The church at Kittery, in Maine, 1682. 2nd, The Second Church in this town. 3d, Most of the Church in Charlestown, which was formed in 1801. Other churches around have probably received a part of their members from this, but I have not received sufficient information on this point to make any authentic statements.

Charlestown Church was embodied in 1801 of twenty members, most of whom were dismissed from the church then under the care of Dr. Stillman. The same day the church was organized, a very commodious house which had just been finished was opened for publick worship. Dr. Stillman preached on the occasion from *Behold, how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!* At the close of his discourse, he made an interesting address to the new formed church. This church is at present destitute of a pastor.

Respecting the branches of the Second Church in Boston, we have already observed, that during the ministry of Mr. Bound additions were made to it from Hull, Newton, Needham, Medfield, Chelmsford, Lynn, &c. In most of these places churches afterwards arose, and these members doubtless laid the foundations for them. In Chelmsford a church was formed in 1771, and Elisha Rich, who afterwards went to Vermont, was its first pastor. After him was Samuel Fletcher and Abishai Crossman, who were only sojourners, and soon went to other places. In 1792, John Peckens was settled among them, and yet remains in the pastoral office. The church in Medfield was formed in 1776, and Thomas Gair was its pastor ten years. After him they were a long time destitute, but have lately settled among them, much to their satisfaction, Mr. William Gammell, from the First Church in Boston. The church in Newton, only nine miles from Boston, was formed in 1780, partly of members from the Second Church, and partly from the remains of two *Separate* churches, one of Newton and the other of Brookline. Mr. Caleb Blood, late of Portland, Maine, became its pastor the year after it was formed, and continued in that

office about seven years, when he went to Shaftsbury, in Vermont. In 1788, Joseph Grafton was settled among them, and still continues their worthy and much respected pastor. Mr. Grafton was born in Newport, Rhode-Island, June 9, 1757. Under his ministry in this place a number of precious revivals have been experienced, and the church has been built up to a large and respectable body.

Haverhill.—This town is on the Merrimack River, thirty miles north of Boston. The Baptist church here was founded in troublesome times, under the ministry of its late renowned pastor, Hezekiah Smith, D. D.

In the New-Light Stir in Whitefield's time, a small society of Separates was formed in Haverhill, which, however, did not continue long; but the savour of this New-Light spirit probably remained after the society was broken up. Sometime after this, one of the parish ministers of the town became obnoxious to his people; controversies and councils ensued, and in the end he was shut out of his meeting-house, and dismissed from his office, and the parish remained destitute of a preacher, until Mr. Smith, who was then travelling as an itinerant through New-England, paid them a visit, and preached among them so much to their acceptance, that they invited him to tarry and supply them awhile. This was in the summer of 1764. He had calculated on returning to New-Jersey the ensuing autumn; but finding his labours blessed, he consented to remain and labour for the present in this vacant parish. He had been treated with respect by the Pedobaptist ministers around, and some of them had invited him to preach in their pulpits; but as soon as he was stationed in one of their folds, which their quarrels had made vacant, they dismissed their civilities, and exerted all their influence against him. They doubtless feared the prevalence of Baptist principles in this Pedobaptist flock, and that not without just grounds; for in May, 1765, a Baptist Church was founded in the centre of the town, Mr. Smith became its pastor, and continued in the successful and dignified discharge of that office forty years. A number of the first members of this church and congregration were, for a while, harassed with sheriffs and *parish rates;* but their oppressors, finding them not easy of management, were induced soon to let them alone.

As no very remarkable occurrences appear to have transpired in the progress of this church, we shall confine our attention principally to the history of its founder and late distinguished pastor.

Mr. Smith was born on Long-Island, in the State of New-York, April 21, 1737. He was a happy instance of early piety, as appears by his making a public profession of religion before he was nineteen years of age. He was educated at Princeton College, New-Jersey, that distinguished seminary of illustrious men, where he graduated in 1762. He was a companion of Dr. Manning from early years, and during the President's life, though stationed seventy miles apart, they were generally called together on all important occasions, which regarded the Baptist interest. They were both taught the rudiments of science at Mr. Eaton's Academy at Hopeweli, and they were also class-mates in College. Mr. Smith, soon after he began to preach, took a journey to the southward, in which he was gone over a year; he went as far as Georgia, preached much in South-Carolina, was ordained, and laboured a while at a place then called Cashaway, now Mount Pleasant, on the Pedee River, in that State, and in different places made collections of considerable amount for the College, which his friend Manning was about establishing in Rhode-Island. His beginning at Haverhill has already been mentioned. At first he was treated here with much abuse by a set of outrageous zealots, who equalled the rude Virginians in their mode of defending their established worship. The most scandalous reports were circulated against his character; and in addition to these, he was personally insulted, and his life endangered. A beetle was cast at him one evening as he was walking the street, which he took up and carried to his lodging. After he was in bed, a stone was thrown through his window, and struck near his head, of sufficient size to have proved fatal had it hit him. His horse was disfigured in the same way that many other Baptist ministers' horses have been, and a paper put on the door of the house where he lodged, which threatened him with worse treatment if he did not depart. He was once assaulted at a private house in Bradford, where he had appointed to preach, by a sheriff and his gang. As he got up to speak, the chair on which he leaned was snatched away, and much tumult ensued; but the rioters shortly withdrew, and he proceeded in his discourse.

Some of them, however, laid wait for him on his return home; but he, without knowing their cruel design, providentially tarried till the coldness of the air forced them from their stand. These were some of the opposing measures which at first attended this intruder upon parish lines. But such was his undaunted courage, his patient forbearance, and powerful eloquence, that his impotent adversaries were soon put to shame, and he arose to pre-eminent esteem among all around him. He made frequent excursions in the neighbouring towns, and a number of churches arose mostly by his means. He also often journied in his active days considerable distances around in New-Hampshire, Maine, and other places, and a large circle of his most cordial friends, and many of the seals of his ministry, are to be found in almost every part of the surrounding country. As he advanced in years, his labours were mostly confined to his own congregation. During most of the revolutionary war, he served as a chaplain in the American army, where his dignified and exemplary deportment gained him the confidence and esteem of both officers and soldiers. Like Mr. Gano, often did he expose his own life to danger in the field of battle, while animating the soldiers and soothing the sorrows of the wounded and dying.

The preceding sketches of the life of Dr. Smith have been selected mostly from Backus' History, and from a brief memoir in the Baptist Magazine. The following description, &c. was drawn by Dr. Baldwin, to whom we are also indebted for what has been selected from the Magazine.

"As a preacher Dr. Smith was equalled by few. His subjects were well chosen, and always evangelical. His voice was strong and commanding, and his manner solemn and impressive. He was often led to pour the balm of consolation into the wounded conscience, but the general tenor of his preaching was calculated to arouse the careless and secure.

"In stature, Dr. Smith was considerably above the middling size, being about 6 feet in height, and well proportioned. His countenance, though open and pleasant, was peculiarly solemn and majestic. In his deportment, he was mild, dignified and grave, equally distant from priestly hauteur, and superstitious reserve. He never thought religion incompatible with real politeness; hence the gentleman, the scholar and the christian were

happily blended in his character. And such was the urbanity of his manners, that many who differed from him in his religious opinions, honoured and respected him as a gentleman and companion. While the wicked were awed by his presence, it was impossible for a good man to be in his company, without being pleased and edified. In a word, he lived beloved and respected, and died greatly lamented."

Dr. Smith was one of the fellows of Brown University, and was, through life, a zealous promoter of that institution. Dr. Messer, who now presides over it, was brought up under his ministry.

Successor to Dr. Smith was Mr. William Batchelder, who was born in Boston, 1769 ; commenced his ministry in Deerfield, New-Hampshire, but removed hither from Berwick, in Maine. Under his ministry this church had large additions, and increased to about three hundred members. But in the midst of his active and useful career, he was suddenly removed by death, in April, 1818.

He was succeeded by the Rev. George Keely, a native of England, and a member of Dr. Rippon's church in London. A good Providence landed Mr. Keely in this country soon after the death of Mr. Batchelder, and he was happily settled in this church in October, 1818.

Salem. This town lies about thirteen miles eastward of Boston. In it Roger Williams began his *Anabaptistical career* about 1635 ; but very few of his sentiments have been found here from the time of his banishment until within a few years past. The Salem church is yet in its infancy, but it has arisen to a distinguished rank among her sister communities, and originated in the following manner : In the winter of 1803—4, a Baptist meeting was set up in a small private house by eight or ten professors of the denomination who belonged to a number of the neighbouring churches. They conducted the meeting mostly in a social manner, but procured preachers to come among them as often as convenient. Perceiving a disposition in many to attend their worship, they often lamented that their meeting place was not more commodious. The matter lay so heavily upon their minds, that they soon held a special prayer meeting, to make known their wants unto God. And their fervent supplications were answered in a most remarkable manner ; in two weeks from this time, the following gentlemen, viz. Capt. Edward Russell, and Michael Webb, Esq. came

forward and offered to erect for them a place of worship. This proposition was as grateful as it was unexpected. By these gentlemen a one story wooden building, fifty-five feet by thirty-six, was set forward, and was so far finished, that by the last of April, 1804, the first sermon was preached in it by Mr. Lucius Bolles, who was at that time studying with Dr. Stillman of Boston, and labouring with him as an assistant. Spiritual as well as temporal blessings were poured upon this little band, and the number of baptized believers increased so much, that on the ninth of January, 1805, they were embodied into a church, and the same day Mr. Bolles was ordained their pastor. Since that time they have enjoyed many refreshing seasons, and have advanced rapidly to a large and flourishing community. Their congregation increased so fast, that the house, with which Providence had so remarkably furnished them, soon became too small for their convenience. They therefore soon began a more spacious one, which was opened for worship, January, 1806. This is a very neat, commodious brick building, seventy-two feet by sixty-two. It is built on a lot of 100 feet by 250,* and cost 16,000 dollars. Their former house is converted into a vestry. This latter spacious building is well filled with worshippers, and the church has increased to upwards of 300. One hundred and thirty were added to them in about eight months, in the year 1809.

This infant church and congregation have often excited the astonishment and gratitude of surrounding older communities, by their spirited exertions and surprising acts of munificence in promoting the cause of Zion.

Mr. Bolles was born in Ashford, Connecticut, in 1779. He was educated at Brown University, and was, for about three years previous to his settlement, a pupil and assistant to Dr. Stillman.

Most of the members of the Marblehead church were dismissed from Salem.

Beverly.—This town is connected to Salem by a bridge fifteen hundred feet in length. The church in it is of recent origin, and was formed in 1801, of nineteen members. Joshua Young was its pastor about two years.

* This lot extends to the tide water, which furnishes a delightful place for baptizing, immediately back of the meeting-house. The lot is 250 feet to high water mark, probably 500 or 600 to low water.

After him was Rev. Elisha Williams, under whose ministry they enjoyed two very considerable revivals. In the first about sixty were added to their number; in the second between forty and fifty. Upwards of a hundred and sixty were added to the church while under his care.

Mr. Williams is a son of the late Dr. Williams, a Pedobaptist minister of East-Hartford, Connecticut; he was educated at Yale College, New-Haven, began to preach at Livermore, in the District of Maine, was for some years pastor of the church in Brunswick, in Maine; and removed from that place to Beverly, in 1803. A few years since he removed to Boston, where he now resides.

Rev. N. W. Williams, the present pastor of this flock, originated from the church in Salem.

Danvers.—This town also joins to Salem. The church here was formed in 1793; Morgan Edwards would call it 'a grand-daughter of Haverhill, as it came out of the church at Rowley, which was a branch of that body. Danvers is distinguished for giving birth to James Foster, D. D. who died pastor of the first church in New-York. Jeremiah Chaplin, D. D. a native of New Rowley, was for a number of years the pastor of this church; but he lately removed to Waterville, Maine, to take charge of the Literary and Theological Seminary in that place, of which he is the principal Professor.

BOSTON ASSOCIATION.

This Association was formed in 1812 by a division of the Warren. That body had become so numerous and extensive, that but few churches could conveniently provide for the large assemblies which convened on its interesting anniversaries. A division was therefore thought necessary, and was amicably agreed upon in 1811. The line was to run from Boston westward as far as the Association extended; those churches, which were near this line on either side, were considered at their option to fall in with either the new or old Association, as best suited their convenience. The general table will exhibit a view of the churches in each body.

As this Association has been formed so lately, its movements do not furnish articles for an historical narrative; but it ought to be observed, that a considerable number of its churches and ministers have long been among the main pillars and active promoters of the respectable body

from which it proceeded. In the education of young men for the ministry, they have taken a leading and important part.

We shall now turn our attention to the southern part of this First Division, in which it will be perceived most of the churches south of Boston are included.

First Church in Swansea.—This is the oldest church in Massachusetts, and was the fourth which was formed in America. It is dated in 1663; but it was begun about 13 years before by Obadiah Holmes and others. The account of Mr. Holmes' persecution at Boston has already been referred to; some further information of his character will be given, when we come to Newport, in Rhode-Island. He was for some years after he came to this country in the Pedobaptist connection, first at Salem, and then at Rehoboth, where one Samuel Newman was pastor. This Newman undertook a domineering course of discipline, different from what had been taught in the old Puritan school, and Holmes and some others withdrew from his church, and set up a meeting by themselves, about 1649. Soon after this they fell in with Baptist principles, and were baptized, it is supposed, by Mr. Clark of Newport, as they joined his church. Mr. Holmes became the leader of this little company, against whom Mr. Newman pronounced the sentence of excommunication, and stirred up the civil power to take them in hand. They were in the Plymouth colony, and before the court in that town Mr. Holmes and two of his associates were cited to appear, where they found four petitions had been lodged against them. One from Rehoboth signed by thirty-five persons; one from the church at Taunton, the adjoining town eastward; one from all the clergymen but two in the Plymouth colony; and a fourth from the meddling court at Boston, under their Secretary's hand urging the Plymouth rulers speedily to suppress this growing schism. But the rulers of this colony appear to have been more mild and tolerant than those of Massachusetts, and probably did no more than they found absolutely necessary to keep the teasing clergy in humor. With all these stimulations to severity, they only charged them to desist from their practice, which was offensive to others, and Obadiah Holmes and Joseph Tory were bound the one for the other, in the sum of ten pounds, for their appearance at court. No imprisonment was inflicted, and no other bonds or sure-

ties were required. One of the company it seems promised to comply with their requisition, and was dismissed. This was in June, 1650. At the next October court, the Grand Jury found a bill against them, and by their presentment we learn that the company consisted of John Hazel, Edward Smith and wife, Obadiah Holmes, Joseph Tory and wife, the wife of James Mann, and William Buell and wife. They were charged with the crime of continuing a meeting from house to house on the Lord's day, contrary to the order of court, &c. but no sentence appears on record against them. Not long after this Mr. Holmes removed to Newport, and became pastor of the old church there, and a part of his company removed with him. But before his removal, that scene of suffering at Boston, which has already been referred to, was experienced.

In 1663, John Miles came over from Wales and began the church, which has continued to the present time. He had founded a Baptist church in Swansea, in his native country, in 1649, and was one of about two thousand ministers, who were ejected from their places by the cruel Act of Uniformity in 1662. He brought to this country the records of the Swansea church in Wales, which, being in the Welsh language, can be of no use to the present generation; but large extracts were made from them by Mr. Backus, and sent over to Mr. Tommas of Leominster, England, the historian of the Welsh Baptists.

Some of Mr. Miles' company in Wales came over with him, and at the house of John Butterworth in Rehoboth, they, to the number of seven, united in a solemn covenant together. Their names were John Miles, elder, James Brown, Nicholas Tanner, Joseph Carpenter, John Butterworth, Eldad Kingsley, and Benjamin Alby.

This measure became offensive to the orthodox churches of the colony; the court was solicited to interpose its influence; and the members of this little church were fined five pounds each, for setting up a publick meeting without the knowledge and approbation of the court, to the disturbance of the peace of the place; ordered to desist from their meeting for the space of a month, and advised to remove their meeting to some other place, where they might not prejudice any other church, &c. Rehoboth, at this time, included nearly all the present county of Bristol. In what part of this large township this church was formed, I do not find; but not long after, its seat was removed to near Kelly's bridge, at the upper

end of Warren, on a neck of land, which is now in the township of Barrington, where their first meeting-house was built. Afterwards its seat was removed to the place where its present meeting-house stands, which is only three miles from Warren, and about ten from Providence. In 1667, the Plymouth court, instead of passing the sentence of banishment against this little company of Baptists, as the men of Boston had done against Thomas Gould and his associates, made them an ample grant of Wannamoiset, which they called Swansea. It then included the extensive territory, which has since been divided into the towns of Swansea, Warren, and Barrington. Barrington and Warren now in Rhode-Island, were then claimed by the Plymouth colony, and afterwards by the Massachusetts government until 1741. What is now the town of Swansea became the residence of the Baptists; a second church arose in it in 1693, and no church of the Pedobaptists has ever been established here to perplex and fleece them. Some of their members, who resided in other towns around, were at times harassed with ministerial taxes; but their sufferings of this kind were trifling, compared with what their brethren in other places endured. Besides the constituent members of this church, there were families by the name of Luther, Cole, Bowen, Wheaton, Martin, Barnes, Thurber, Bosworth, Mason, Child, &c. among the early planters of Swansea, whose posterity are still numerous in the surrounding country.

Mr. Miles continued pastor of this church until his death, which happened in 1683. What few sketches have been preserved of his life go to show that he bore an excellent character, and was eminently useful in his day. He lived near a bridge, which still bears his name, but a small distance from the present meeting-house. He laboured frequently with his brethren in Boston, in the time of their sufferings, and at one time there was a proposition for his becoming their pastor, which was not, however, carried into effect. We are told that being once brought before the magistrates for preaching, he requested a Bible, and opened to these words in Job, *But ye should say, Why persecute we him? seeing the root of the matter is found in me;* which, having read, he sat down; and such an effect had the sword of the Spirit, that he was afterwards treated with moderation, if not with kindness. All I can learn of his posterity is, that a son went back to England, and a grandson of his was an Episcopal minister in Boston, (Mass.) in 1724.

Second Church in Swansea.—This church was begun by some members from Providence and other places, who settled to the eastward of the old church, and set up a meeting by themselves, which their gifted brethren carried on until the church was formed, and Thomas Barnes, one of their number, was ordained their pastor, in 1693. This office he filled with respect till his death, which happened in 1706. One of the leaders of this church was Samuel Mason, who was a soldier in Cromwell's army, but came over to America on the Restoration of Charles II. He settled in Rehoboth, where, and in the adjoining towns, and also in remoter places, his posterity is very numerous. His sons were Noah, Samson, James, John, Samuel, Joseph, Isaac, Peletiah, and Benjamin. James and John went to Boston, but the remaining six lived in Rehoboth and Swansea, until the youngest of them was seventy years of age. Isaac was ordained a Deacon in the church at the same time that Mr. Barnes became its pastor, and continued in the faithful discharge of that office until his death in 1742.

Joseph, another of the brothers, was ordained a pastor of this body in 1709, and six years after John Pierce was ordained his colleague. These two elders ministered to this church as long as they were capable of ministerial service, and both of them lived to about the age of ninety.

Next to these venerable elders were in succession three by the name of Mason, grand children on the father's side of the famous Samson Mason, and on the mother's, of John Russell, once pastor of the old church in Boston. Job was ordained in 1738, Russell in 1752, and John in 1788. The last of them died but a short time since. They were all highly esteemed for their piety and usefulness.

Middleborough. The first church in this town was formed in 1756 ; some account of its origin and progress may be found in the biography of Mr. Backus, who was for about fifty years, its worthy pastor.

SECOND DIVISION.

This division comprehends a considerable part of this State, and extends from a line drawn north and south, between twenty and thirty miles west of Boston to its west-

ern side. It is bounded south by Rhode-Island and Connecticut, west by New-York, and north by Vermont and New-Hampshire. In it are about sixty churches, which belong to the Boston, Warren, Worcester, Sturbridge, Leyden, Westfield, Danbury and Shaftsbury Associations. Of these seven Associations, three only, viz. Sturbridge, Leyden, and Westfield, are considered as having their seat in the region now under consideration; and of these we shall, in the first place, give some brief account.

STURBRIDGE ASSOCIATION.

This body was formed at the place from which it took its name in 1802, of churches which had belonged to the Warren Association. Nothing remarkable has occurred in its progress.

Sturbridge.—This church arose in the following manner: In 1747, a Separate church was formed in this town, and Mr. John Blunt was ordained its pastor. In about two years after, Baptist principles began to prevail amongst them, and Elder Moulton of Brimfield baptized 13 of their number, among whom was Daniel Fisk, one of their deacons. John Newell was their other deacon, and Henry Fisk and David Morse were their ruling elders. It was not long before these officers, with Mr. Blunt their pastor, and others to the number of upwards of sixty, were baptized, and in 1749 they began to travel in a Baptist church. For three years from that period, they were oppressed for parish taxes in a most grievous manner; five of them were imprisoned in Worcester gaol, and property of different kinds was taken from them to a large amount. Some of the principal brethren in Boston endeavoured in vain to allay the vengeance of their oppressors; but the crime of dissenting was not to be forgiven, and the havock which followed, was distressing and severe. The storm of persecution was furious, but not of long continuance. The Baptists soon arose to respect, and were let alone by the established party; and deacon Fisk, who was cruelly treated at first, became afterwards a representative of the town, and died a member of the House of Assembly, in 1778. This church has had a number of teachers, but for some time past it has been under the care of Zenas L. Leonard, who was educated at Brown University.

LEYDEN ASSOCIATION.

This body was formed in Leyden, in 1763, of thirteen churches, which are situated at no great distance from the Connecticut River, in the three States of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and Vermont. Leyden is about thirty miles above North-Hampton, and upwards of a hundred north-west of Boston. The church here was formed in 1780, and Joseph Green, from Norwich, Connecticut, became its pastor. Most of the settlers of the town and the constituents of this church came from Rhode-Island and the adjoining parts of Connecticut. As there was no church of the established order in the place, they were not troubled with ministerial taxes; but a considerable number of churches throughout this region, in the counties of Hampshire and Berkshire, were, for a time, unmercifully harassed with those scourges to dissenters.

The Ashfield church formerly belonged to the Warren Association, but for some reason it does not now associate with any connexion It was formed in 1761, and Ebenezer Smith became its pastor. For a number of years this church and its adherents were persecuted with great severity by the predominant party. In 1770, about four hundred acres of their land were disposed of at publick sale by the furious parish tax-gatherers. For a demand of less than four dollars, Mr. Smith was dispossessed of ten acres of his home lot. From his father was taken twenty acres, containing his orchard and burying ground, which was struck off to one Wells for less than seven dollars. This coveting of fields, and taking them by force, goes beyond any thing we read of in England. There is an account of the pope taking land in a similar way from the Waldenses in France; but in Protestant countries no example of the kind appears. In these distressing circumstances the Baptists petitioned the Boston Assembly for relief; a number of fair promises were made, but no assistance was afforded them, until they, by the assistance of Governor Hutchinson, addressed the king and council, by whom the law, which sanctioned their oppressions, was disannulled, and their lands were ordered to be restored. The business was not finally settled until 1774, by which time the minister, who had been the occasion of all this oppression, became obnoxious to his own people, and went off with the avails of the estate which had been settled upon him.*

* Backus, vol. I. p. 248, 261.

The church in Montague and Leverett was formed in 1765. They gave in certificates to the parish accessors according to law; but these certificates were no better that American protections; and they were, notwithstanding, taxed and distressed. In a short time Samuel Harvey had a cow and calf and yoke of oxen taken from him for the support of the parish minister; and for the same purpose a cow was taken from a Mr. Sawyer. Major Richard Montague was carried six miles towards the prison, and kept all night; in the morning the officer released him, and went back and took out of his pen a large valuable animal of that species into which the devil once entered, in the country of the Gergesenes. Major Montague was a principal leader in this church, and his son Elijah has for many years been its pastor.

In a similar way have many other churches in this vicinity been robbed of their property, for the support of a set of clergy, who were well contented to fatten on the spoils of their neighbours. There is, however, one honourable exception to this general remark. A Mr. Cook of Bernardston was settled with a salary of £75 a year; at the time of his settlement he gave a written instrument, which was registered in the town book, binding himself to deduct that part of his salary, which fell to the share of the Baptists, which was annually about sixteen pounds.

WESTFIELD ASSOCIATION.

This is a small body, which was formed of only six churches in 1811. In the town from which it received its name, which is about a hundred miles west of Boston, a church was formed in 1784. Adam Hamilton, a native of England, was for a time its pastor, and was highly esteemed in the Baptist connexion wherever he preached; but on account of his misconduct he sometime since was rejected from their fellowship, and sunk into disrepute.

West-Springfield.—As early as 1727, some persons were baptized in this town by Mr. Elisha Callender, then pastor of the first church in Boston. Their names were John Leonard, Ebenezer Leonard, William Scott, Abel Leonard, and Thomas Lamb. These people set up a meeting, and, as often as they could, obtained Baptist ministers to come among them; and in 1740, they, with others who had joined them, were formed into a church,

and Edward Upham became their pastor. He was born at Malden in 1709, and educated at Cambridge College, where he graduated in 1734. After ministering at Springfield about nine years, he removed to Newport and became the successor of John Callender, the author of the Century Sermon. Here he remained about twenty years, when he went back to his old flock at Springfield, and continued his labours among them till he was turned of eighty, when a violent disorder confined him to his bed. After remaining in this condition about five years, he died in 1795, at the good old age of eighty-seven. Mr. Upham was one of the earliest and most zealous friends of Rhode-Island College, of which he was an original Trustee and Fellow.

This church appears to have been once dissolved and formed anew, as it is now dated in 1789. Its present pastor is Jesse Wightman, a grandson of the founder of the Groton church in Connecticut. A second church has arisen in this town, whose pastor is Thomas Rand, who was educated at Brown University.

We have thus given a general view of the progress of our brethren in Massachusetts, and from the foregoing sketches it appears that their sufferings and successes have both been great.

We shall now give a brief account of the laws, which have operated against them, and also those by which they have been exempted from time to time.

In the writings of Dr. Cotton Mather we find the following correct statement; "The reforming churches, flying from Rome, carried some of them more and some of them less, all of them something of Rome with them, especially in that spirit of *imposition* and *persecution*, which too much cleaved to them all."* This remarkable concession explains the whole subsequent conduct of the Massachusetts rulers. They legislated by the advice and with the assistance of their ministers, who desired that their government might be considered a *theocracy*, and that the Lord would lead his people by the hand of Moses and Aaron. At first, none but church members were allowed to vote in the election of rulers, and as none could be admitted into their churches but by the ministers, they had, in effect, the keys of the State as well as the Church in their hands.† Thus, in the beginning of their gov-

* Backus, vol. I. p. 63. † Hannah Adams' Hist. of New-England, p. 34, 35.

ernment, Church and State were united by the strongest ties; the ministers assisted in legislation, and the magistrates, in return, lent his aid in ecclesiastical affairs.

The Massachusetts people seem to have been ambitious from the first of erecting a peculiar government for themselves, in which no dissenter should be permitted to remain. They compared their Colony to the land of Canaan, the Congregational party were the chosen people of God, and all, who differed from them in opinion and practice, were like the seven nations of the Canaanites, who were to be driven out of the land which the Lord their God had given them. At first their ministers were supported by the voluntary contributions of their flocks; but in 1638, a law was made empowering the parish officers to distrain the due proportion from those who would not contribute in a voluntary way. This law was much opposed by some of their own party, and one Nathaniel Briscoe, of Watertown, wrote a book against it, for which he was fined ten pounds; and one John Stowers, for reading some of it before a company of his friends, was fined forty shillings. But notwithstanding the murmurs of some, this law prevailed, and has been the source of unspeakable trouble and damage to the Baptists and other dissenters in this commonwealth.

Although the religious establishment in this State was mild and tolerant compared with many other countries and kingdoms, yet in many instances dissenters have been plundered and misused. The laws for religious taxation were variously amended and modified, but no effectual relief was granted until 1811, when in consequence of numerous petitions of the Baptists and others, a law was passed of the following import. That whenever any person shall become a member of any religious society, corporate or unincorporate, and shall produce a certificate of such membership to the clerk of the town where he dwells, signed by a committee of the society chosen for the purpose, such person shall ever afterwards, so long as he continues such membership, be exempted from taxation for the support of publick worship and publick teachers of religion, in every other religious corporation whatsoever. This law was passed June, 1811. It afforded peculiar relief to the Baptists and other dissenters, but still neither party is altogether satisfied with it. The Congregationalists are afraid that they have given up too much, but the dissenters suppose they have not yet ob-

tained what they claim as their just and indisputable right, viz. a free exemption from all taxes and all certificates. They think it best, however, for the present, to shift along with what they have got, and obtain the rest when Providence shall open a door.

CHAP. XII.

RHODE-ISLAND.

Rhode-Island is the smallest State in the Union, its greatest length being forty-seven miles, its greatest breadth thirty seven, and containing only about thirteen hundred square miles. It is bounded north and east by Massachusetts, south by the Atlantic, and west by Connecticut. It is divided into five counties, viz. Providence, Kent, Washington, Newport, and Bristol; these counties are subdivided into thirty-one townships, and contained, in 1810, about seventy-seven thousand inhabitants. This State has not increased very rapidly in population, of late years, as it contained about sixty thousand inhabitants forty years ago. No part of the United States is more healthy, but the territory is so small, that every part of it has long since been taken up, and as the inhabitants increase, they are obliged to remove to other parts for settlements. The manufacturing interest is now very rapidly advancing, and the number of inhabitants will probably increase much faster for the future, than it has done for half a century past.

The island, from which this State receives its name, is about fifteen miles long, and generally about three miles wide, and was, before the American war, called by travellers the Eden of America. It is divided into three townships, by the name of Newport, Middleton and Portsmouth.

The earliest settlements in this little State were made by two separate companies, who do not appear to have had any knowledge of each other's designs. The first was begun by Roger Williams and his persecuted brethren in 1636;* the other by Dr. John Clark, William Cod-

* I have followed Mr. Backus' dates in describing these events. Some historians have dated Mr. Williams' settlement in 1634; but no one has investigated this subject more thoroughly than Mr. Backus, and I am inclined to think he is the most correct.

dington, and others, about 1638. The place where Mr. Williams settled, and which in testimony of God's merciful providence to him in his distress, he named Providence, was by the Indians called Mooshausick. Mr. Clark and his company settled on Aquidneck, or Aquetneck, now called Rhode-Island, at a place then named Pocasset, now Portsmouth. This was on the north end of the island, between twenty and thirty miles from Mr. Williams. Some of the company soon after removed, and settled on the south-west part of the island, where Newport now stands.

In 1644, the inhabitants of Aquidneck named it the Isle of Rhodes, or Rhode-Island.

A third settlement was begun on Pawtuxet River, south of Providence, by Samuel Gorton and others, about 1641.

From these brief sketches we shall now proceed to a more circumstantial account of the commencement of these settlements.

Roger Williams was the parent and founder of the State of Rhode-Island. He first planted the standard of freedom and peace among the Narraganset Indians, and all the settlements, which were afterwards made, were by his assistance. He at first by his pacific measures and peculiar skill gained the friendship of the Indian princes, and any favour, which he requested, was easily obtained. He was most thoroughly convinced that the untutored savages were lords of the soil on which the God of nature had planted them, and therefore took the utmost care, that none of the inhabitants of this infant colony should occupy the least part of it until it was fairly purchased of the aboriginal proprietors. The Indians did, indeed, in some instances convey large tracts by deeds of gift, but these were *Indian gifts*, which in the end proved very costly. But the utmost care was taken that every claim should be satisfied, and every pretext for hostility precluded.

The cause of the banishment of this worthy man from the colony of Massachusetts was as follows: He was most firmly persuaded, and like an honest man faithfully defended the two following important propositions, viz. that the Princes of Europe had no right whatever to dispose of the possessions of the American Indians; and, secondly, that civil rulers as such had no authority from God to regulate or control the affairs of religion. A more definite statement of this last proposition will be made in the

account of the founding of the church in Providence. It is sufficient to observe here that out of his maxims of religious liberty, and national justice, grew most of the heresies contained in his indictment.* And such were his talents and address, that the magistrates were fearful whereunto his opinions would grow, and after some ineffectual endeavours to convince or quiet him, they passed against him the cruel sentence of banishment, October, 1635. He had permission to tarry within their jurisdiction until spring, upon condition "that he would not go about to draw others to his opinions;" but in January, 1636, the Governor and Assistants were informed that he received and preached to companies in his house at Salem, "even of such points as he had been censured for." Having received this information, they agreed to send him back to England by a ship then ready to depart: "the reason was, because he had drawn about twenty people to his opinions; they were intended to erect a plantation about the Narraganset Bay, from whence infection would easily spread into these churches, the people being many of them much taken with the apprehension of his godliness." They sent for him to come to Boston, but he sent an excuse; upon which they sent a pinnace, with a commission to Capt. Underhill, to apprehend him and carry him on board the ship then at Nantasket; but when they came to his house they found he had been gone three days.

"What human heart," says Mr. Backus, "can be unaffected with the thought, that a people, who had been sorely persecuted in their own country, so as to flee three thousand miles into a wilderness for religious liberty, yet should have that imposing temper cleaving so fast to them, as not to be willing to let a godly minister, who testified against it, stay even in any neighbouring part of this wilderness, but moved them to attempt to take him by force, to send him back into the land of their persecutors!"†

The next we hear of this injured man, was on the Seekhonk plain, since called Rehoboth, a few miles east

* The sin of the *Patents*, Mr. Williams says, lay heavy on his mind, especially that part by which *Christian* kings (so called) were invested with a right, by virtue of their *christianity*, to take and give away the lands and countries of other men." His sentiments on this subject, Mr. Cotton informs us, formed the first article in his indictment. BACKUS, vol. i. p. 57, 58.

† Vol. i. p. 72.

of Providence. To this place, which was then wholly inhabited by savages, he fled in the depth of winter and obtained a grant of land of Osamaquin, sometimes called Masasoit, chief Sachem at Mount Hope, now in Bristol, R. I. But he was soon informed by a letter and messenger from the men of Plymouth, that this place was within their patent. He next went over Pawtucket River, as will be related in the history of the first church in Providence.

Here he found that favour among the savages which christians had denied him. Many of his friends and adherents soon repaired to his new habitation. He had the happiness to gain the friendship of two powerful Narraganset princes, of whom he made a formal purchase of a territory sufficient for himself and friends. He soon acquired a sufficient knowledge of the Indian language to transact the affairs of trade and negociation, and perhaps no man ever had more influence over the savage tribes than Roger Williams. This influence enabled him to sooth the irritated Indian Chiefs, and break up their confederacies against the English. And the first act of this kind was performed in favour of the colony from which he had been so cruelly banished.

The first deed which he obtained of his lands, or at least the first which is now extant, bears date the same day with that of Aquidneck, and was given two years after his settlement of Providence. It runs in the following style:

"At Nanhiggansick, the 24th of the first month, commonly called March, in the second year of our plantation, or planting at Mooshausick, or Providence: Memorandum, that we Caunanni-cus and Miantinomu, the two chief sachems of Nanhiggansick, having two years since sold unto Roger Williams the lands and meadows upon the two fresh rivers called Mooshausick and Wanaskatuckett, do now by these presents establish and confirm the bounds of these lands, from the rivers and fields of Pautuckett, the great hill of Neoterconkenitt on the north-west, and the town of Mashapauge on the west. As also, in consideration of the many kindnesses and services he hath continually done for us, both for our friends of Massachusetts, as also at Quinnikticutt and Apaum, or Plymouth; we do freely give unto him all that land from those rivers reaching to Pautuxett river, as also the grass and meadows upon Pautuxett river; in witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in the presence of,

The mark of † CAUNANNICUS,
The mark of ‖ MIANTINOMU.

The mark of † SEATAGH,
The mark of * ASSOTEMEWETT.

"1639, Memorandum, 3d month, 9th day, this was all again confirmed by Miantinomu; he acknowledged this his act and hand; up the stream of Pautuckett and Pautuxett without limits we might have for our use of cattle; witness hereof,

ROGER WILLIAMS,
BENEDICT ARNOLD."

This deed must have comprehended all the county of Providence, or the north part of the State, and most of the county of Kent.

A few months after this purchase was made, Mr. Williams admitted as his associates the persons afterwards named by the following instrument:

"Providence, 8th of the 8th month, 1638, (so called.) Memorandum, that I, Roger Williams, having formerly purchased of Caunannicus and Miantinomu this our situation or plantation of New-Providence, &c. the two fresh rivers of Wanasquatuckett and Mooshausick, and the ground and meadows thereupon; in consideration of thirty pounds received from the inhabitants of said place, do freely and fully pass, grant, and make over equal right and power of enjoying and disposing of the same grounds and lands unto my loving friends and neighbours, Stukely Westcoat, William Arnold, Thomas James, Robert Cole, John Greene, John Throckmorton, William Harris, William Carpenter, Thomas Olney, Francis Weston, Richard Waterman, Ezekiel Holliman, and such others as the major part of us shall admit into the same fellowship of vote with us: As also I do freely make and pass over equal right and power of enjoying and disposing of the lands and grounds reaching from the aforesaid rivers unto the great river Pautuxett, with the grass and meadows thereupon, which was so lately given and granted by the aforesaid sachems to me; witness my hand, ROGER WILLIAMS."

The next who were admitted into this company, were Chad Brown, William Field, Thomas Harris, William Wickenden, Robert Williams, brother to Roger, Richard Scott, William Reynolds, John Field, John Warner, Thomas Angell, Benedict Arnold, Joshua Winsor, Thomas Hopkins, Francis Weeks, &c.

The settlement of Aquidneck was begun in the following manner: Soon after the banishment of Roger Williams, the colony of Massachusetts was most violently agitated by religious discords, and a synod held at Newton, now Cambridge, after due examination, found to their grief, that their country was infested with no less than eighty-two heretical opinions, which were all arraigned before the sapient ecclesiastical tribunal, and solemnly condemned. Rev. Mr. Whellwright, and Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, both Pedobaptists, were banished the juris-

diction for what was called Antinomianism, and others were exposed to a similar fate. Mr. John Clark, an eminent physician, made a proposal to his friends to remove out of a jurisdiction so full of bigotry and intolerance. Mr. Clark was now in the 29th year of his age; he was requested with some others to look out for a place, where they might enjoy unmolested the sweets of religious freedom. By reason of the suffocating heat of the preceding summer, they first went north to a place which is now within the bounds of New-Hampshire, but on account of the coldness of the following winter, they resolved in the spring to make towards the south. "So having sought the Lord for direction, they agreed that while their vessel was passing about Cape Cod, they would cross over by land, having Long-Island and Delaware Bay in their eye, for the place of their residence. At Providence Mr. Williams lovingly entertained them, and being consulted about their design, readily presented two places before them; Sowams, now called Barrington, and Aquetneck, now Rhode-Island. And inasmuch as they were determined to go out of every other jurisdiction, Mr. Williams and Mr. Clark, attended with two other persons, went to Plymouth, to inquire how the case stood; they were lovingly received, and answered, that Sowams was the *garden of their patent.* But they were advised to settle at Aquetneck, and promised to be looked on as free, and to be treated and assisted as loving neighbours."*

On their return, the 7th of March, 1638, the men to the number of eighteen, incorporated themselves a body politic, and chose William Coddington their judge or chief magistrate. The names of these men were William Coddington, John Clarke, William Hutchinson, John Coggshall, *William Aspinwall*, *Thomas Savage*, William Dyre, William Freeborne, Philip Shearman, John Walker, Richard Carder, William Baulstone, *Edward Hutchinson*, *Edward Hutchinson, jun.* Samuel Wilbore, John Sanford, John Porter, and Henry Bull. These, whose names are in italicks, afterwards went back to Massachusetts; most of the others arose to eminence in the colony, which they established.

"It was not price or money," says Mr. Williams, "that could have purchased Rhode-Island; but 'twas obtained by love, that love and favour, which that honoured gentleman, Sir Henry Vane, and myself had with the great

* Backus' Hist. vol. I. p. 89. Callender's Century sermon, p. 30.

sachem Myantonomo, about the league, which I procured between the Massachusetts English, and the Narragansets in the *Pequot war*. This I mention, that as the truly noble Sir Henry Vane, hath been so great an instrument in the hand of God, for procuring this island of the barbarians, as also for the procuring and confirming the Charter, it may be with all thankful acknowledgments recorded and remembered by us and ours, who reap the sweet fruits of so great benefits, and such unheard of liberties among us." And in another manuscript he tells us, "The Indians are very *shy and jealous of selling the lands to any*, and chose rather to make a *grant of them*, to such as they affected; but at the same time, expected such gratuities and rewards, as made an *Indian gift* oftentimes a very dear bargain." "And the colony in 1666," says Mr. Callender, "averred that though the favour Mr. Williams had with Myantonomo was the great means of procuring the grants of the land, yet the purchase *had been dearer* than of any lands in New-England; the reason of which might be, partly, the English inhabited between two powerful nations, the Wamponoags to the north and east, who had formerly possessed some part of their grants, before they had surrendered it to the Narragansets; and though they freely owned the submission, yet it was thought best by Mr. Williams to make them easy by gratuities to the sachem, his counsellors and followers. On the other side the Narragansets were very numerous, and the natives inhabiting any spot the English sat down upon or improved, were all to be bought off to their content and oftentimes were to be paid over and over again."*

The colony of Rhode-Island was small, and laboured under many embarrassments. In an address to the supreme authority in England, in 1659, they gave the following account of their circumstances: "This poor colony consists mostly of a Birth and Breeding of the Most High. We, being an outcast people, formerly from our mother-nation in the bishop's days, and since from the New-English over-zealous colonies. Our whole frame being much like the present frame of our dearest mother England; bearing with the several judgments, and consciences of each other, in all the towns of the colony; which our neighbour colonies do not; and which is the only cause of their great offence against us."

A third settlement was made below Providence on the western shore of the Narraganset Bay, by Samuel Gorton,

* Century Sermon, p. 31, 32.

and his company. This company suffered for a time most severely by the officious and unrighteous interference of the Massachusetts and Plymouth rulers. Gorton was a very different character from either Williams or Clark, but he was a zealous advocate for liberty of conscience, and sought an asylum where he might enjoy it. He was a man of learning and abilities, but of a satyrical, difficult turn; he was also a preacher, but of a very singular cast. He arrived in Boston in 1636, which place he in a short time left for Plymouth. There he soon fell out with their preacher, was taken in hand by the authority, and bonds were required of him for his good behaviour. From Plymouth he went to Rhode-Island, where, for something in his conduct, what I cannot learn, he was, by Mr. Coddington's order, roughly treated, and according to Callender's account banished the Island. He next went to Providence, where he was kindly received by Mr. Williams and others, and he with others soon settled at Pawtuxet, which was within the bounds of Mr. Williams' grant. But here new troubles followed him, contentions were fomented among his company, the weaker party sought assistance from the men of Boston, and some of them actually submitted themselves and their lands to that government. The Boston court had then a specious pretext for meddling with the affairs of an infant distant colony, and they having learnt the peculiar policy of the cabinet of their mother country, to foment quarrels and then profit by them, cited Gorton and his associates to appear at their tribunal, and answer to the complaints which had been exhibited against them. The warrant was signed by the Governor and three assistants; but Gorton treated it with disdain, and in answer wrote a long, mystical paraphrase upon it, which was signed by himself, Randal Holden, Robert Potter, John Wickes, John Warner, Richard Waterman, William Woodale, John Greene, Francis Weston, Richard Carder, Nicholas Power, and Sampson Shatton. It appears these people, in order to avoid further troubles, removed southward to a place then called Shawwomet, now Warwick, which they purchased of the sachems, Miantinomy,* Pomham, and others, for 144 fathoms of wampum †

* The name of this famous Indian chief is spelt many different ways, but Myantinomy seems the most proper, and according to Mr. Callender it was by the Indians pronounced Myantinō'my. *Cent. Serm.* p. 1.

† This was then computed at £. 40 16s. sterling. *Backus.*

But new complaints soon went to Boston against them, and the petty sachems under Miantinomy and Pomham, for political reasons, were easily induced to become their enemies and accusers, and they were again summoned to appear before the Massachusetts rulers. And upon their refusal, because out of their jurisdiction, a company of armed men were sent to fetch them. They sent word to the company that if they set foot upon their land, it should be at their peril. But a band of soldiers marched on, the women and children, and some of the less resolute, were terrified and dispersed, and the rest, being overpowered by numbers, were carried to Boston, where they were treated in a severe and scandalous manner. Gorton, for being a blasphemous enemy of the religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. was confined to Charlestown, set to hard work, loaded with bolts and irons to hinder his escape; and in case he should break his confinement, and in the mean time publish, declare or maintain his blasphemous, abominable heresies, wherewith he had been charged by the court, after due conviction, he should be condemned and executed. John Wickes was confined to Ipswich, Randal Holden to Salem, Robert Porter to Beverly, Richard Carder to Roxbury, Francis Western to Dorchester, John Warner to Boston, and William Woodale to Watertown. John Green, Richard Waterman, and Nicholas Power, not being found so guilty as the rest, were dismissed after paying costs and hearing an admonition. The rest were confined at their different stations through the winter, eighty head of their cattle were sold to pay the charges of bringing them from their homes, and trying them before a foreign tribunal, which amounted to a hundred and sixty pounds. But the court, finding it impossible to keep them from seducing others, and despairing of reclaiming them from their errors, in the spring released them, and banished them, not only from their jurisdiction, but also from their own lands at Showwomet.* This detestable tyranny came of Mr. Cotton's *Jewish theocracy*, and it is a lamentable fact, that that mistaken divine encouraged the court in this horrid oppression of Gorton and his unfortunate associates. Some of them were, at that very time, members of the church at Providence; they had associated with Gorton, not on account of his religious opinions, but for the purpose of obtaining lands on which they might procure a subsistence for

* Backus, vol. I. p. 126—129.

themselves and families. But if Gorton had been that blasphemous, damnable heretick, which his orthodox persecutors pretended; if he had worshipped the sun, moon and stars; what right did that give the Boston rulers to treat him and his company in such an outrageous manner?

These much injured men, being prohibited on pain of death to go to their lands, repaired to Rhode-Island where they tarried awhile meditating what course to take.

As yet none of the companies of this colony had any patent from the crown for their lands; but they had all purchased them of the Indians, their proper owners, and therefore ought to have been suffered peaceably to enjoy them.

About the time that Gorton and his company were released, that is, in 1643, Mr. Williams was sent to England as agent for the two colonies of Providence and Rhode-Island, and by the assistance of Sir Henry Vane, obtained "a free and absolute Charter of Civil Incorporation, by the name of the *Incorporation of Providence Plantations in the Narraganset Bay, in New-England.*" This charter was dated the 17th of March, in the 19th year of Charles I. 1644. It was obtained of the Earl of Warwick, who was then appointed by Parliament, Governor and Admiral of all the plantations, &c. and was signed by him and ten other noblemen his council. It empowered them to rule themselves and such others as should inhabit within their bounds by such a form of civil government, as by the voluntary agreement of all or of the greater part should be found most suitable to their estate and condition, &c.

Mr. Williams returned with this charter the September following, and landed at Boston.

As persons of many different sentiments and tempers had resorted to this now asylum of freedom, it was a matter of some difficulty to fix upon a form of government, in which they could be united. But this desirable object was, not long after effected, and no event seems to have occurred except what are common to the first efforts of new plantations, until 1651, when a very serious difficulty arose, which from the name of its author, was called *Coddington's Obstruction.* But before we proceed, it is proper to observe, that not long after Mr. Williams went to England, Messrs. Gorton, Greene, and Holden, set sail for the same country, and obtained an order to be suffered peaceably to possess their purchase at Showwomet

By this means the claims of the Massachusetts court were defeated. As Mr. Williams's Charter covered their purchase, it was incorporated with the Providence Plantations, and as the Earl of Warwick was their peculiar friend in this affair, they, for that reason, gave their settlement the name of Warwick, and the posterity of its planters are still numerous in different parts of the State. Callender, Backus, and others, who have spoken of Gorton's religious opinions, acknowledge that it is hard to tell what they really were; but they assure us that it ought not to be believed, that he held all the heresies which were ascribed to him. The most we can learn is, that in allegory, and double meanings of scripture, he was similar to Origen; in mystical theology and the rejection of ordinances, he resembled the Quakers; and the notion of visible instituted churches he utterly condemned. He was the leader of a religious meeting at Warwick above sixty years, and says he made use of the learned languages in expounding the Scriptures to his hearers. He was of a good family in England, lived to a great age, was promoted to honour in the Rhode-Island Colony, and left behind him many disciples to his peculiar opinions. Some of his posterity have been found among the Baptists, some among the Quakers, but the greater part of of them are what Morse would call Nothingarians. But all of them still retain a lively abhorrence of that religious tyranny, by which he was so cruelly oppressed.*

The Charter obtained by Roger Williams in 1644, lasted until 1663, when another was granted by Charles II. by which the incorporation was styled "The English Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations in New-England." This Charter, without any essential alteration, has remained the foundation of the Rhode-Island government ever since. Previous to its being obtained, that is, in 1651, Messrs. Williams and Clark were sent to England as agents for the Colony, which then consisted of only the four towns of Providence, Portsmouth, Newport, and Warwick. The object of their embassy, was to remove the obstructions which had been thrown in the way of their progress by William Coddington, then Governor of their infant settlement. This gentleman had, as they said, "by most untrue information," obtained a commission of the *Council of State*, to govern

* Callender's Century Sermon, p. 37, 38.—Backus, vol. ii. p. 95.

a part of the colony, that is, the Island, with such a council as the people should choose, and he approve. This they considered as "a violation of their liberties," &c. and by the exertions of these agents the commission was vacated, and the administration progressed in the original form. Mr. Williams soon returned, but Mr. Clark remained in England about twelve years, to watch the motion of affairs, and to be ready to lend his assistance to his brethren here as emergencies should require.

The form of government established by the Rhode-Islanders was, as to civil affairs, much like those of the other colonies, but in the important article of religion, they differed from them all. Liberty of conscience was, in the first social compact at Providence, established by law, and no one was allowed to vote among them, who opposed it.* This darling principle was planted in the soil of Rhode-Island, before the red men left it, or ever the lofty forests were laid waste, and has been transmitted from father to son with the most studious care; it was interwoven in every part of the State Constitution, has extended its influence to all transactions, whether civil or sacred, and in no part of the world has it been more inviolably maintained for the space of upwards of a hundred and seventy years. It is the glory and boast of Rhode-Island, that no one within her bounds was ever legally molested on account of his religious opinions, and that none of her annals are stained with acts to regulate those important concerns, which lie wholly between man and his Maker. Hence it was early said of this colony, "They are much like their neighbours, only they have one vice less, and one virtue more than they; for they never persecuted any, but have ever maintained a perfect liberty of conscience."†

They, among their first legislative acts, (instead of establishing their own religion by law, and compelling all others to maintain it) determined that "Every man, who submits peaceably to civil government in this colony, shall worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience without molestation." And when in 1656, the colonies of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Hartford, and New-Haven, pressed them hard to give up this point, and join with them to crush the Quakers, and prevent any more from coming to New-England, they, for an answer,

* Backus, vol. I, p. 95.

† Edwards' MS. Hist. of Rhode-Island, p. 10.

made the noble declaration, "We shall strictly adhere to the foundation principle on which this colony was first settled," &c. Accordingly, the Quakers found a safe asylum here, while they were in all places persecuted and destroyed.

When these people obtained their second Charter in 1663, they petitioned Charles II. "that they might be permitted to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil State may stand and best be maintained, and that among English subjects, with a full liberty in religious concernments, and that true piety, rightly grounded on gospel principles, will give the best and greatest security to sovereignty; and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to true loyalty."—This permission was granted by his majesty, and the tenor of their Charter was, that every person might freely and fully have and enjoy his own judgment or conscience in matters of religious concernment, &c. The inviolable attachment of the Rhode-Islanders to this heaven-born principle of Religious Freedom, was the real cause of all those calumnies and injuries which the other colonies heaped upon them. Connecticut and Massachusetts on either side of them, were now making strong exertions to enforce their religious laws, and could not endure the maxims of this little colony, which were a tacit and standing condemnation of *their* bigotry and intolerance. They therefore stretched their lines if possible to swallow up the little State, and Massachusetts actually took possession of a large share of it on one side, and Connecticut on the other; but failing of their design on this plan, they encouraged the Indians to harass them to the loss of 80 or 100 pounds a year; they refused to let them have ammunition for their money when in imminent danger; they fomented divisions among them, and encouraged their subjects to refuse obedience to their authority; they finally laboured hard, after they could not dismember the colony, to gain a party within its bounds, of sufficient strength to outvote them in their elections, and establish among them their abominable system of parish worship, and parish taxes. Their letter writers, preachers, and historians, calumniated them as "the scum and runaways of other colonies, which, in time, would bring a heavy burden on the land: as so sunk into barbarity, that they could speak neither good English nor good sense—as despisers of God's wor-

ship, and without order or government," &c.* Dr. Mather, speaking of this State about a hundred years ago, says, "It has been a Colluvies of Antinomians, Familists, Anabaptists, Antisabbatarians, Arminians, Socinians, Quakers, Ranters, every thing in the world but Roman Catholicks and real christians, though of the latter, I hope, there have been more than the former among them; so that if a man had lost his religion, he might find it at this general muster of Opinionists." He goes on to describe it as the Gerrizim of New-England, the common receptacle of the convicts at Jerusalem, and the outcasts of the land. "The Island," says he, "is indeed for the fertility of its soil, the temperateness of its air, &c. the best garden of all the colonies, and were it free from *serpents*, I would call it the *Paradise* of New-England." But he finally applies it to the old proverb, *Bona Terra, Mala Gens*, a good land, but a bad people. This is but a part of a long reviling piece of the same character. Among other things he informs us, that the Massachusetts ministers, had made a *chargeless* tender of preaching the gospel to this wretched people in their towns and on their *paganizing plantations;* but these offers had been refused.

We shall now give a brief account of some of the Baptist churches which have arisen in this State, and begin with

The First Church in Providence.—This church, which is the oldest of the Baptist denomination in America, according to Governor Winthrop, was planted in the year 1639. Its first members were twelve in number, viz. Roger Williams, Ezekiel Holliman, William Arnold, William Harris, Stukely Westcot, John Green, Richard Waterman, Thomas James, Robert Cole, William Carpenter, Francis Weston, and Thomas Olney. Roger Williams being the chief instrument of this work of God, and also in settling this colony, we shall here give a connected view of his origin, character, banishment, &c. Although many things have already been said of this distinguished man, yet we have purposely omitted the following sketches, that they might stand in connexion with the church which he founded; they are found in its records, from which they are here transcribed.

"Mr. Williams was a native of Wales, born in the year 1598, and had a liberal education, under the patronage

* Edwards' MS. Hist. of Rhode-Island, p. 12, 13.—Backus, vol I.—MS. of Governor Jenks.

of Sir Edward Coke. The occasion of Mr. Williams' receiving the favour of that distinguished lawyer was very singular. Sir Edward, one day, at church, observing a youth taking notes from the sermon, beckoned and received him into his pew. He obtained a sight of the lad's minutes; which were exceedingly judicious, being a collection of the most striking sentiments delivered by the preacher. This, with Mr. Williams' great modesty, so engaged Sir Edward in his favour, as to induce him to solicit Mr. Williams' parents to let him have the care of their son; which was readily granted. Mr. Williams soon entered on the study of the law, and received all possible assistance from his generous patron; but finding this employment not altogether agreeable to his taste, after pursuing it some time, he turned his attention to divinity, and made such proficiency therein, as encouraged Sir Edward to obtain him episcopal orders. His preaching was highly esteemed, and his private character revered. By embracing the sentiments of the Puritans, he was greatly exposed to suffering, and at last was thereby compelled to leave his native country. He embarked for America, on February 5, 1631, being then in the 32nd year of his age. On his arrival he was called by the church at Salem to join in the ministry with Mr. Skelton; but the Governor and Council not being satisfied with it, the appointment was suspended. This was a means of his being called by the church at Plymouth, where he preached two or three years, and was held in high estimation by Governor Bradford and the people. The former was pleased to give this testimony of Mr. Williams: "He was a man, godly and zealous, having many precious parts. His preaching was well approved, for the benefit of which I still bless God, and am thankful for his sharpest admonitions, so far as they agreed with truth." Mr. Skelton, of Salem, now growing old, a second application was made to Mr. Williams; but many of his Plymouth friends were against his removal. One Mr. Brewster at length prevailed with the church to dismiss him; saying, "If he stayed, he would run the same course of rigid separation and anabaptism which one Smith of Amsterdam had done." He accordingly settled in Salem, and many of the church at Plymouth followed him. The Court again wrote to prevent his settlement, but could not prevail. Morton and Hubbard inform us, "In one year's time, Mr. Williams filled that place with principles of rigid separa-

tion, and tending to anabaptism." His favourite topic, *liberty of conscience*, a subject he well understood, gave offence to a few of the leading part of the congregation; but this would have been borne with, had he not further maintained "that civil magistrates, *as such*, have no power in the church, and that christians, *as such*, are subject to no laws or control, but those of King Jesus." This so greatly enraged the magistrates, that they excommunicated and banished him. The town was again enraged at the conduct of the magistrates, and several of the inhabitants followed their minister. This was done in the winter of 1636. When they were out of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, they pitched in a place now called Rehoboth; but the men of Plymouth hearing thereof, sent to inform them that they were settled on lands within their territories. Now they had no refuge, but must venture among savages; and it is said, that Mr. Williams and his friend Olney, and Thomas Angel, an hired servant, came over the river in a canoe, and were saluted by the Indian word that signifies, *What cheer?* They then came round Fox Point, until they met with a pleasant spring, which runs to this day, and is nearly opposite the Episcopal Church. Being settled in this place, which from the kindness of God to them, they called PROVIDENCE, Mr. Williams and those with him, considered the importance of Gospel Union, and were desirous of forming themselves into a church, but met with a considerable obstruction; they were convinced of the nature and design of believer's baptism by immersion; but, from a variety of circumstances, had hitherto been prevented from submission. To obtain a suitable administrator, was a matter of consequence: at length, the candidates for communion nominated and appointed Mr. Ezekiel Holliman, a man of gifts and piety, to baptize Mr. Williams; and who, in return, baptized Mr. Holliman and the other ten. This church was soon joined by twelve other persons, who came to this new settlement, and abode in harmony and peace. Mr. Holliman was chosen assistant to Mr. Williams. This church, according to Chandler, held particular redemption; but soon after deviated to general redemption. Laying on-of-hands was held in a lax manner, so that some persons were received without it. And such, says Governor Jenks, was the opinion of the Baptists throughout this colony. Psalmody was first used, and afterwards laid aside. These alterations took place about sixteen years after

their settlement. The church at first met for worship in a grove, unless in wet and stormy weather, when they assembled in private houses. Mr. Williams held his pastoral office about four years, and then resigned the same to Mr. Brown, and Mr. Wickendon, and went to England to solicit the first charter.* After Mr. Williams' return, he preached among the Indians, whose forefathers were gathered by him. He wrote an account of the Indians, which the then Lords of Trade highly commended; also a defence of the doctrines controverted by the Quakers, and another piece, called the Bloody Tenet, with some other pieces. He died in the year 1682, aged 84, and was buried under arms in his own lot; now supposed to be not far from the new house lately built by Mr. Dorr on Benefit-Street.† Mr. Williams' wife's name was Elizabeth, by whom he had children, viz. Mary, Freeborn, Providence, Mercy, Daniel, and Joseph. The third died without issue, aged 48 years. The others married into the Rhodes, Olney, Waterman, Windsor, and Sayles families; whose descendants, according to Governor Hopkins, had in 1770 been traced to the number of two thousand.

"Mr Williams' character, given by many, as a man, a scholar, and a christian, was truly respectable. He appears, says Mr. Callender, in his Century Sermon, page 17, by the whole tenour of his life, to have been one of the most disinterested men that ever lived, and a most pious and heavenly minded soul. Governor Hutchinson, reflecting on the life of this good man, says, "Instead of shewing any revengeful temper, or resentment, he was continually employed in acts of kindness and benevolence to his enemies." Vol. 1st, page 38. Mr. Callender observes, "the *true grounds* of liberty of conscience were not understood in America, until Mr. Williams and John Clarke publickly avowed, *that Christ alone is king in his own kingdom*, and that *no others* had authority over his subjects, in the affairs of conscience and eternal salvation." Governor Hopkins said, "Roger Williams justly claimed the honour of being the first legislator in the world, that fully and effectually provided for, and established a free, full and absolute liberty of conscience." He not only

* Some accounts state his ministry in the church to have been but a few months.

† His grave is not certainly known, but tradition makes it to be near some trees to the west of this street.

founded a State, but by his interest with the Narragansct Indians, broke the grand confederacy against the English, and so became the saviour of all the other colonies.

"Rev. Chad Brown, who succeeded Mr. Williams in the charge of this church, came to Providence the latter end of the year 1636, by reason of the persecution in Massachusetts. He was ordained in the year 1642. Mr. Brown was one of the town proprietors, and the fourteenth in order. He supported a good character, and was prosperous in his ministry.

"Rev. Mr. Wickendon, who was colleague with Mr. Brown, came from Salem to Providence in 1639, and was ordained by Mr. Brown. He died February 23, 1669, after having removed to a place called Solitary Hill. Mr. Wickendon preached for some time in the city of New-York, and as a reward for his labour was imprisoned four months.

"Rev. Gregory Dexter was next in office. He was born in London, and followed the stationary business with a Mr. Coleman.* It is said, he fled from his native country for printing a piece, which was offensive to the then reigning powers. He came to Providence in 1643, and was the same year received into the church, being both a Baptist and a preacher before his arrival. He took the care of this church on Mr. Wickendon's removal to Solitary Hill. He was the first who taught the art of printing in Boston, in New-England. He was never observed to laugh, and seldom to smile. So earnest was he in the ministry, that he could hardly forbear preaching when he came into a house, or met a number of persons in the street. His sentiments were those of the Particular Baptists. He died in the 91st year of his age.

"Rev. Thomas Olney succeeded to the pastoral office. He was born at Hertford, in England, about the year 1631, and came to Providence in 1654; but when baptized or ordained is not known. He was the chief who made a division about laying-on-of-hands. He and others withdrew and formed a separate church, but it continued only a short time. He died June 11, 1722, and was buried in his own field.

"Rev. Pardon Tillinghast was next in office. He was born at Seven-cliffe, near Beachy-Head in Old-England, about the year 1622. He came to Providence by way of

* This Coleman became the subject of a Farce called *The Cutler of Coleman Street.* *Edwards.*

Connecticut, in the year 1645, and was of the Particular Baptist denomination, and remarkable for his piety and his plain dress. At his own expense he built the first meeting-house, about the year 1700, on a spot of ground towards the north end of the town; having the main street for the front, and the river to the back. A larger house was erected in its place in the year 1718. He was buried in his own lot, towards the south end of the town; and which is still continued as the burial place of the family.

"Rev. Ebenezer Jenckes succeeded Mr. Tillinghast in office. He was born in Pawtucket, in the township of Providence, 1669, and ordained pastor in 1719; which office he held till his death, Aug. 14, 1726. He was a man of parts and real piety. He refused every publick office, but the surveyorship of the propriety of Providence. He was buried in the family burial ground in Pawtucket.

"Rev. James Brown, grandson to the Rev. Chad Brown, by his eldest son, born at Providence, 1666, was next ordained to the pastoral office in this church, and continued therein till his death, October 28, 1732. He was an example of piety and meekness, worthy of admiration. He was buried in his own lot at the north end of the town, and a stone was erected to his memory.

"Rev. Samuel Windsor succeeded Mr. James Brown. He was born in the township of Providence, 1677, and ordained, 1733. He continued the care of this church, until November 17, 1758, when he died. He was esteemed a worthy man, and had considerable success in his ministry.

"Rev. Thomas Burlingham was in union with Mr. Windsor. He was born at Cranston, May 29, 1688, and was ordained at the same time with Mr. Windsor, but in a measure resigned his care of the church a considerable time before his death in order to preach to a new church at Cranston. He died January 7, 1740.

"Rev. Samuel Windsor, son to the aforenamed Samuel Windsor, was next in office. He was born, November 1, 1722, in the township of Providence, and ordained June 21, 1759. He continued his office with ease and some success, till towards the year 1770, when he made repeated complaints to the church, that the duty of his office was too heavy for him, considering the remote situation of his dwelling from town. He constantly urged the

church to provide help in the ministry, as he was not able to serve them any longer in that capacity, without doing injury to his family, which they could not desire.

"Divine Providence had so ordered, that the Rev. James Manning, President of the Rhode-Island College, was likely to remove from Warren, to settle with the college in the town; and which was esteemed favourable to the wishes of Mr. Windsor and the church. However, at this juncture, Mr. John Sutton,* minister, on his way from Nova-Scotia to the Jerseys, arrived at Newport; when Mr. Windsor and the church invited him to preach as *assistant* for six months; which he did to good acceptance, and then pursued his journey. The attention of the church and Mr. Windsor, was now directed to Mr. Manning; and at a church meeting held the beginning of May, 1770, Daniel Jenckes, Esq. chief judge of the inferior court, and Solomon Drown, Esq. were chosen to wait on Mr. Manning at his arrival, and, in the name of the church and congregation, to invite him to preach at the meeting house. Mr. Manning accepted the invitation, and delivered a sermon. It being communion-day, Mr. Windsor invited Mr. Manning to partake with them, which the President cordially accepted. After this, several members were dissatisfied at Mr. Manning's partaking of the Lord's Supper with them; but at a church meeting appointed for the purpose, Mr. Manning was admitted to communion by vote of the church. Notwithstanding this, some of the members remained dissatisfied, at the privilege of transient communion being allowed Mr. Manning; whereupon another meeting was called previous to the next communion-day, in order to reconcile the difficulty. At said meeting, Mr. Manning was confirmed in his privilege by a much larger majority. At the next church meeting, Mr. Windsor appeared with an unusual number of members from the country, and moved to have Mr. Manning displaced, but to no purpose. The ostensible reason of Mr. Windsor and of those with him for objecting against President Manning was, that he did not make imposition of hands a bar to communion, though he himself received it, and administered it to those who desired it. Mr. Windsor and the church knew Mr. Manning's sentiments and practice for more than six

* Now in Kentucky, and is one of those who are known by the name of Emancipators.

years at Warren; those, therefore, who were well informed, attributed the opposition to the President's holding to singing in public worship; which was highly disgustful to Mr. Windsor. The difficulty increasing, it was resolved to refer the business to the next association at Swansea. But when the case was presented, the association, after a full hearing on both sides, agreed that they had no right to determine, and that the church must act for themselves. The next church meeting, which was in October, was uncommonly full. All matters relative to the President were fully debated, and by a much greater majority were determined in his favour. It was then agreed all should sit down at the Lord's table the next Sabbath, which was accordingly done. But at the subsequent communion season, Mr. Windsor declined administering the ordinance; assigning for a reason, that a number of the brethren were dissatisfied. April 18, 1771, being church meeting, Mr. Windsor appeared and produced a paper, signed by a number of members living out of town, dated, Johnston, February 27, 1771, in which they say,

"Brethren and sisters,—We must in conscience withdraw ourselves from all those who do not hold strictly to the six principles of the doctrine of Christ, as laid down in Hebrews vi. 1, 2."

"At a church meeting held May 30, 1771, Mr. Samuel Windsor made a second declaration, that he withdrew from the church at Providence, and that he should break bread in Johnston, (an adjacent town) which he accordingly did the first Lord's-day in June, and continued so to do.

The practice of the imposition of hands, was the subject of much discussion at this time, and considerable difficulties appeared in the way of settling President Manning in the pastoral care of this church. But his established reputation, his ardent piety, his increasing popularity, and above all, a powerful work of grace which commenced under his ministry, served to soften the prejudices against him, and to settle him in that station which he occupied for many years, to great acceptance and with distinguished usefulness. During this revival, which commenced in 1774, and in which more than a hundred persons were added to the church, the meeting-house became insufficient to contain the people, who pressed to hear the word; therefore, those whose hearts the Lord

opened, were ready to join their hands to build a more convenient place for the worship of God.

"A committee was now appointed to petition the general assembly of the State at their next session to obtain an act, empowering them to sell the meeting-house and ground, and lay out the money arising from the sale thereof, in purchasing and preparing another lot, and building a house for the Baptist church and society. The petition was granted, and the meeting-house and lot were sold at publick vendue to John Brown, Esq. for the sum of four hundred and twenty pounds, L. M. A generous subscription was soon obtained, and a lot of ground of large dimensions situated in the centre of the town, was purchased of Mr. William Russel, and Mr. Amaziah Waterman.

"The draught of the new meeting-house was made by Joseph Brown, Esq. a member of this church, and Mr. Sumner, who also superintended the building. The floor was laid 80 feet square. It contains 126 square pews on the ground floor. A large gallery on the south, west, and north, and one other above on the west, for the use of the blacks. The roof and galleries are supported by twelve fluted pillars of the Doric order. The ceiling in the body is a continued arch, and over the galleries it is intersected; the adjustment of which, and the largeness of the building, render it extremely difficult for most who attempt to preach in it. At the east end is a very elegant, large Venitian window, before which the pulpit stands At the west end is a steeple of the height of 196 feet, supposed to be the best workmanship of the kind of any in America, it was furnished with a good clock and bell, both made in London. The weight of the bell was 2515 lb. and upon it was the following motto:

> "For freedom of conscience, the town was first planted;
> Persuasion, not force, was us'd by the people;
> This church is the eldest and has not recanted,
> Enjoying and granting bell, temple, and steeple."

"This bell was split by ringing in the year 1787, and afterwards recast by Jesse Goodyear at Hope Furnace; the weight thereof is 2387 lb. The inscription of it is, "This Church was founded, A. D. 1639, the first in the State, and the oldest of the Baptists in America." The ground and building amounted to about seven thousand pounds, lawful money, that is, over 23,000 dollars. It

was opened for public worship, May 28, 1775, when the President, afterwards Doctor Manning, preached the first sermon from Genesis, xxviii. 17. *This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven.*

"At this time, a number of the principal members of the church and congregation, sincerely wishing the utmost prosperity to attend the interest of Christ among them, proposed to form themselves into a body politick, to be known by the name of "The charitable Baptist Society, in the town of Providence, in the colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantation, in New England." The design of this society was to raise a fund towards the support of the ministers of the church, educate youth, and other laudable purposes. These members petitioned the General Assembly, at their next session, holden at Newport, for a charter, which was readily granted, on the first Wednesday in May, 1774. This society is still continued.

"The church and congregation being happily settled in the new meeting-house, and promising themselves great pleasure therein, were soon disturbed by the alarm of war. Many of the young members were taken away to join the army. Families removed for safety to the country; and those who were left behind, were exposed to the fears common to such afflictive seasons. Through divine goodness, the stated worship was continued, and meetings of business regularly preserved. When it pleased the Lord to ordain peace, and to return many of those brethren, who had been separated by publick calamities, it was thought proper to hold two especial meetings; one at Providence and the other at Pawtucket, four miles distant, where a number of the members resided. The design of these meetings was to engage each other to walk in the fear of God, and enjoy the happy privilege of christian communion, which proved of real advantage. However, the church was constrained to experience the sad consequences of their scattered state. Gifts and graces were greatly injured, and that bloom of profession, which appeared at the time of the general revival unhappily faded away.

"Dr. Manning continued his ministry to good satisfaction, and with success; but his constant employ in the college, not only prevented him from attending the affairs of the church, and from necessary visits, but unavoidably permitted its members to lie in a very unpleas-

ant situation. The Doctor being sensible of these things, repeatedly entreated the church to look out for a minister to take the charge of them; and at length in a most honourable way resigned his pastoral office. He died in a fit of the apoplexy, universally regretted, July 29, 1791, leaving behind an amiable widow, who is yet living in Providence."

Thus far the history of this church has been transcribed from its records, which were set in order in 1775, by Rev. John Stanford, now of New-York, who was then preaching with them. This account up to Dr. Manning's beginning in Providence, is found almost in the same form as here stated in Morgan Edwards' MS. History, &c. prepared in 1771. It was published in Rippon's Register in 1802, and as it is well written, I have chosen to copy it without scarcely any alteration.

After Dr. Manning's death, Mr. now Dr. Maxcy, President of Columbia College, South-Carolina, served this church about two years.

Next to him was Mr. Stephen Gano, who is still with them. He is a son of the late John Gano, whose history will be related in the biographical department; was born in the city of New-York, Dec. 25, 1762; was bred to physic; was a surgeon in the American army in the latter part of the revolutionary war, and was settled in his medical profession at Orangetown, New-York, before his attention was called to the things of religion. At the age of 23 he commenced his ministry in the First Church in his native city, where he was ordained, May, 1786. From this period he laboured successively at Hudson, Hillsdale, and Nine Partners, until 1792, when, by the call of this ancient church, he removed among them and became their pastor. During the twenty-one years of his pastoral labours here, some very precious and extensive revivals have been experienced, and by him about five hundred persons have been baptized, who have joined this church, besides many others in different parts of the surrounding country.

The branches of this church have been considerably numerous, and it seems probable that from it originated either directly or indirectly most of the churches which have, at different times, arisen in the northern part of the State. Mr. Callender informs us that "this church shot out into divers branches, as the members increased, and the distance of their habitations made it inconvenient to

attend the publick worship in the town; several meetings were thereupon fixed at different places for their ease and accommodation; and about this time (1730) the large township of Providence became divided into four towns; their *chapels of ease* began to be considered as distinct churches, though all are yet (1738) in a union of councils and interests."

The towns taken from Providence were Smithfield, Gloucester, and Scituate; in each of which large and flourishing churches afterwards arose.

In 1743, a church was formed at Greenwich, partly of members from this body.

The church in Cranston, still nearer home, was formed mostly of members from Providence, in 1764. This church was first founded on Calvinistic principles, which, I conclude, did not long prevail among them.

In 1771, a church arose at Johnston, only three miles distant, in consequence of Mr. Windsor's separation, which has already been mentioned.

We must from that time pass on to 1805, in which year were formed from this ancient body and in union with it, the second church in Providence, and the one at Pawtucket. The year after was formed the church at Pawtuxet. Considerably over a hundred members were dismissed to form these three churches, and yet it being a time of revival, the old church increased so fast, that it was larger after they were all formed than before.

Before we close this sketch it is proper we should take notice of some things pertaining to this ancient and wealthy congregation, which have not yet been mentioned. The lot on which their meeting-house stands, is bounded on four streets, and is enclosed with a handsome and costly picket fence. Its dimensions are 150 feet on Main-street, west; 300 feet on Thomas-street, north; 170 feet on Benefit-street, east; and 188 on President-street, south. Under the floor of this house, at the west end is a vestry which will contain from 800 to 1000 persons.

The appendages of this establishment, which have not been mentioned, are, 1st. A large, elegant glass chandelier, which cost about four hundred dollars. 2d. A parsonage house, built in 1792, which, with the lot, cost about three thousand dollars; two thousand of which were given by Mr. W. Brown. 3d. Funds at interest, which produce about five hundred dollars a year. This fund was raised

by subscription, and a considerable portion of it came from the Brown family. 4th. A legacy of about three hundred dollars, intrusted particularly with the church, for the benefit of the poor coloured members. This, like the widow's mite, seems to be more than all the rest, as it was bequeathed by a black sister lately deceased, whose name was Patience Borden, commonly called Patience Sterry.

A very powerful and extensive revival commenced in this town a few months since, which has not yet (June, 1820) wholly subsided; about two hundred have been added to the Baptist Churches, about the same number to the Congregationalists, and many to other denominations.

The *Foundation Stone* has been laid for a *third* Baptist church in the lower part of the town; and a *fourth* church at the upper end of the town is contemplated.

NEWPORT.

First Church.—For the origin of this church we must go back to 1644, when, according to tradition, it was formed. The constituents were Dr. John Clark, and wife, Mark Lukar, Nathaniel West and wife, William Vaughan, Thomas Clark, Joseph Clark, John Peckham, John Thorndon, William and Samuel Weeden.

John Clark, M. D. was the founder of this church and also its first minister. He took the care of them at their settlement, and continued their minister until his death, which happened in 1676, in the 66th year of his age. He had three wives, but left no children. The Clarks now in the State sprang from his brothers Thomas, Joseph, and Carew. Where Mr. Clark was born is not certainly known. In some of his old papers he is styled "John Clark of London, Physician;" but tradition makes him a native of Bedfordshire. Neither can we find where he had his education and studied physick; but we meet with proofs of his acquaintance with the learned languages. In his will, he gives to his "dear friend, Richard Bailey, his Hebrew and Greek books; also (to use his own words) my Concordance with a Lexicon to it belonging, written by myself, being the fruit of several years' study." His baptism and ordination are also matters of uncertainty; tradition says, that he was a preacher before he left Boston, but that he became a Baptist after

his settlement on Rhode-Island, by means of Roger Williams. The cause of his leaving Boston and the Massachusetts colony has been related in the beginning of this chapter. An account of his imprisonment at Boston may be found under the head of Massachusetts. Soon after his release from that scene of affliction, he was appointed with Roger Williams to go to England on the business of the Rhode-Island colony, where he tarried twelve years, and returned with their second charter in 1663. "By which it appears," says Morgan Edwards, "that Mr. Clark had a hand with Mr. Williams in establishing the polity of this government, that *he without him, might not be made perfect.*" Mr. Clark's character as a christian was unspotted; "as a divine," says Mr. Callender, "he was among the first, who publickly avowed that Jesus Christ alone is king in his own kingdom."* His sentiments were those of the Particular Baptists. His Narrative of the Sufferings of Obadiah Holmes, &c. printed in London in 1652, is the only piece of writings, which has come down to us.

Successor to him was Obadiah Holmes, who had a terrible scourging at Boston, for preaching the gospel and baptizing some persons at Lynn, an account of which has been referred to. He had for his assistant Mr. Joseph Tory, of whom we find no more than that he was one of the three who went to Boston in 1668, to assist the Baptists in that curious dispute, of which we have given an account in the history of Massachusetts.

Mr. Holmes was a native of Preston, Lancashire, England; arrived in America about 1639, and continued a communicant with the Pedobaptists, first at Salem, then at Rehoboth, about eleven years, when he became a Baptist, and joined to this church. After he had recovered from his wounds inflicted at Boston, he removed his family from Rehoboth to Newport, where he found an asylum from the rage of his enemies, and in 1652, the year after Mr. Clark set sail for England, was invested with the pastoral office, which he held till his death, in 1682, aged 76 years. He was buried in his own field, where a tomb is erected to his memory. Mr. Holmes had eight children, and his posterity are spread in different parts of New-England, Long-Island, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, &c." "and it is supposed," says M. Edwards, "could all that sprang from him in the male and female lines be numbered, they would amount (in 1790) to near 5000. His

* Century Sermon, p. 16.

son Obadiah was long a judge in New-Jersey, and a preacher in the Baptist church at Cohansey. Another of his sons, by the name of John, was a magistrate in Philadelphia, at the time of the Keithan separation. One of his grandsons was alive in Newport in 1770, in the 96th year of his age.

After Mr. Holmes was Richard Dingly and William Peckham, of whom we can learn but little more than that they were men of good characters and useful in their day, and that the former went to South-Carolina in 1694.*

The fifth pastor of this church was John Comer, A. B. He was born in Boston, in 1704, began his education at Cambridge, but finished it at New-Haven. Before he entered college he had hopefully experienced a gracious change; while there, one of his intimate young friends, by the name of Crafts, joined the Baptist church in Boston. Comer admonished him for his departure from the faith, and entreated him to recant; but being prevailed on to read Stennett on baptism, he became convinced of the sentiments he had opposed, joined the same church with his friend Crafts, and by it was approbated to preach in 1725.† From Boston he went to Swansea, where he was invited to settle, but was prevented by an invitation from Newport. Hither he came, and was ordained co-pastor with Mr. Peckham, May, 1726. His ministry in this place was short but successful; by his means singing in publick was introduced, which had not before been practised. The laying-on-of-hands was held in a lax manner, and his attempts to urge it as an indispensable duty, though not as a term of communion, gave offence to two leading members in the church, and was the means of his being dismissed from his office. He afterwards settled in that part of Rehoboth called the Oak Swamp, where he gathered a church in 1732; but falling into a decline, he was removed from the scene of his labours 1734, in the 30th year of his age. His son John is now a member of the church in Warren, in this State, between eighty and ninety years of age. Mr. Comer bid fair to be one of the most eminent ministers of his day; his character was unspotted and his talents respectable and popular. He had conceived the design of writing the history of the American Baptists, and for the purpose of forwarding it travelled as far as Philadelphia, opened a corres-

* Backus, vol. iii. p. 228. † Backus, vol. ii. p. 66, 111.

pondence with persons in the different colonies, and also in England and Ireland. He was curious in making minutes of remarkable events of every kind; he also collected many useful facts for his intended history. These minutes, in the few years of his ministry, swelled to two volumes folio of about 60 pages each. They are now owned by his aged son of Warren, and were by him loaned to the Author. These minutes, together with his letters upon historical matters (for he preserved copies of them all) have been of singular advantage to Edwards, Backus, and the writer of this sketch of this promising man, whom a mysterious providence saw fit to cut down almost in the beginning of his course.

The next in office in this church was John Callender, A. M. He was a native of Boston, nephew of Elisha Callender, pastor of the old church in that town, was educated at Cambridge, and was one of the very few, who enjoyed the benefit of Mr. Hollis' donation to that Institution. He became pastor of this flock in 1731, and acted the part of a good shepherd till his death, which happened January 26, 1748. He published, 1st. A Funeral Sermon, occasioned by the death of Rev. Mr. Clap, a Congregational minister of Newport. 2d. A Sermon preached at the ordination of Mr. Condy of Boston. 3d. A Sermon to young people. And 4th, A Sketch of the History of Rhode-Island for a hundred years, usually known by the name of *the Century Sermon*, from which much assistance has been derived in the preceding sketches of this State. Mr. Callender's excellent character was thus drawn by Dr. Moffit in an epitaph which may be seen on his tomb in Newport:

"Confident of awaking, here reposeth
JOHN CALLENDER;
Of very excellent endowments from nature,
And of an accomplished education,
Improved by application in the wide circle
Of the more polite arts and useful sciences.
From motives of conscience and grace
He dedicated himself to the immediate service
Of GOD,
In which he was distinguished as a shining
And very burning light by a true and faithful
Ministry of seventeen years in the first Baptist
Church of Rhode-Island, where the purity
And evangelical simplicity of his doctrine, confirmed
And embellished by the virtuous and devout tenor

Of his own life,
Endeared him to his flock, and justly conciliated
The esteem, love, and reverence of all the
Wise, worthy, and good.
Much humanity, benevolence and charity
Breathed in his conversation, discourses and writings,
Which were all pertinent, reasonable, and useful.
Regretted by all, lamented by his friends, and
Deeply deplored by a wife and numerous issue,
He died,
In the forty-second year of his age,
January 26, 1748;
Having struggled through the vale of life
In adversity, much sickness, and pain,
With fortitude, dignity, and elevation of soul,
Worthy of the philosopher, christian and divine."

Mr. Callender was succeeded by Edward Upham, A. M. who was born at Malden, near Boston, 1709, was educated at Cambridge, and probably received the benefit of Mr. Hollis's donation. He became a minister of this church in 1748, where he continued until 1771, when he resigned his office and returned to West-Springfield, in Massachusetts, where he was first settled, and where he spent the remainder of his days.

Next to him was Erasmus Kelly, a native of Buck's County, Pennsylvania, where he was born in 1748. He was educated at the College in Philadelphia, and began to preach in 1769; two years after, he was called to Newport and was ordained the pastor of this church, which prospered much under his ministry until the troubles of the war obliged him to remove to Warren, where the enemy followed him and burnt the parsonage house in which he lived with Mr. Thompson, together with his goods November 7, 1778. After this he tarried awhile in Connecticut, and then went back to Pennsylvania. On the return of peace he resumed his charge at Newport, which he continued not a year before he was removed by death in 1784.

Mr. Kelly was succeeded by Benjamin Foster, D. D. afterwards pastor of the first church in New-York. He continued with them but about three years.

In 1790, Mr. Michael Eddy, their present pastor, was settled among them. He was born in Swansea, November 1, 1760, and was ordained in the second church in that town in 1785. The possessions of this church, are

1st. A farm of about 150 acres, which now rents for 600 dollars a year. 2d, A lot of 30 acres, rented for 100 dollars a year. 3d, A lot in the town occupied by the pastor as a garden. This property was bequeathed to the church by Mr. John Clark its founder. In addition to these valuable possessions, they have, for a parsonage house, the mansion of Governor Lyndon, which was bequeathed to them by that honourable member of their Society. The Governor was esteemed a man of piety, although he never joined the church; he died 1778, aged 74. The meeting-house belonging to this church is 40 feet by a little under 60. The lot is 73 feet by 64, and was given by Col. Hezekiah Carpenter, and Governor Lyndon.

Second Church.—This church originated in 1656, when twenty-one persons broke off from the first church, and formed themselves into a separate body. Their names were William Vaughan, Thomas Baker, James Clark, Jeremiah Clark, Daniel Wightman, John Odlin, Jeremiah Weeden, Joseph Card, John Greenman, Henry Clark, Peleg Peckham, James Barker, Stephen Hookey, Timothy Peckham, Joseph Weeden, John Rhodes, James Brown, John Hammet, William Rhodes, Daniel Sabear, and William Greenman.

These seceders objected against the old body, 1st. Her use of psalmody. 2d. Undue restraints upon the liberty of prophesying, as they termed it. 3d. Particular Redemption. 4th. Her holding the laying-on-of-hands as a matter of indifference. This last article is supposed to have been the principal cause of the separation. Mr. Clark was now in England on the business of the colony; had he been with his church the division might have been prevented. But this is one of the many cases where similar divisions have been overruled for good.

The three first pastors of this church were William Vaughan, Thomas Baker, and John Harden. The first died 1677; the second after ministering here awhile, removed and raised up a church at North-Kingston. The third was a native of England, and died in the pastoral care of this people in 1709.

The fourth in succession was James Clark a nephew of Dr. John. He was ordained pastor of this flock in 1701, by Messrs. Dexter, Tillinghast, and Brown of Providence, and continued in good esteem until he died, December 1, 1736, aged 87.

Daniel Wightman was his colleague and successor. He was born in Narraganset, January 2, 1668, was ordained in 1701, at which time he took the joint care of the church with Mr. Clark. He continued in office until he died in 1750 aged 82. He was a man of an excellent character, was related to Valentine Wightman of Groton, Connecticut, and is supposed to have been a descendant of Edward Wightman, who was burnt for heresy at Litchfield in 1612, being the last man, who suffered death for conscience' sake in England.

The colleague and successor of Mr. Wightman, was the famous Nicholas Eyres. He was born at a place called Chipmanslade, Wilts county, England, August 22, 1691; came to New-York about the year 1711; was baptized about three years after by Mr. Wightman of Groton, of which event, and also of his ministry in that city, an account will be given under the head of New-York. October, 1731, he set sail for Newport in compliance with an invitation from this church, and the same month was settled co-pastor with Mr. Wightman. "Mr. Eyres left behind him heaps of manuscripts, some polemical, some doctrinal, some political, for which he was every way qualified." He died February 13, 1759, and was buried in Newport, where a tomb was erected to his memory with the following inscription:

"From an early institution in the languages
And mathematical learning,
He proceeded to the study of the sacred scriptures,
And from them alone derived
The true christian science
Of the recovery of man
To virtue and happiness.
This he explained in his pastoral instructions;
This he happily recommended in his own example
Of gravity, piety, and unblemished morals.
Like his divine Master
In his daily visitations
He went about doing good.
He was a friend to the virtuous of every denomination,
But a foe to established error and superstition;
An enemy to unscriptural claims of superiority
Among the churches of our common Lord;
But of protestant liberty and the rights of conscience
An able and steady defender.
From these distinguishing strictures
And ruling principles of his character
Posterity may know,

Or at least have reason to judge,
That while many monumental inscriptions
Perpetuate the names of those
Who will awake to shame and everlasting contempt,
This stone transmits the memory of one,
Who shall shine as the brightness of the firmament
And as the stars for ever and ever."

Mr. Eyres was succeeded by Mr. Gardner Thurston, who was ordained the April after his death. During a part of his ministry, his meeting-house and congregation were the largest among the Baptists in New-England.* He finished his long and successful course in 1820.

Mr. Joshua Bradley, a native of Massachusetts and a graduate of Brown University was, a few years previous to Mr. Thurston's death, ordained as co-pastor with him. Mr. Bradley has resided in various places, and been instrumental in building a number of meeting-houses. He now resides in a remote part of the State of New-York.

Successor to Mr. Bradley is Mr. John B. Gibson, who was settled among this people in 1807. He was born in Woodbury, Connecticut, in 1765 ; was first a Methodist, and a preacher in their connexion about eight years ; was, after travelling different circuits, located at Warren, Rhode-Island, where he became fully convinced of believers' baptism, and of the errors of Wesley's creed ; was baptized by Mr. Baker in May, 1807, and was ordained in the same place the June following.

Mr. Gibson a few years since removed from this place and settled in Ware, N. H.

Rev. Romeo Elton is the present pastor of this body. He is a native of Connecticut, and a graduate of Brown University. Under his ministry a powerful revival has lately commenced among this people, and the town generally has shared in the good work.

The house of worship belonging to this church and congregation is 76 feet by 50. It stands on a lot of 140 feet by 75. Adjoining is another lot 50 feet square, on which is a small building, formerly occupied as a schoolhouse, but now it is used for the accommodation of some of the poor members. Their funds are only 750 dollars ; 400 of which are expressly appropriated for the poor.

* Morgan Edwards.

The old Sabbatarian church in this town will be noticed under the head of Seventh Day Baptists towards the close of this work.

A fourth church was formed in Newport in 1788, which is now under the care of Mr. Caleb Green.

WARREN.—This church was constituted October 15, 1764; one of the constituents was Dr. Manning, then residing in the town; most of the other members had previously belonged to the old church in Swansea, only three miles distant. Mr. Manning took the care of this church at its beginning, and continued with them till 1770, when he removed with the College to Providence.

Successor to him was Mr. Charles Thompson, A. M. one of the first graduates of the college, which began its movements in this town. Mr. Thompson was born at Amwell, New-Jersey, April 14, 1748, was ordained at Warren in 1771, by Messrs. Ebenezer Hinds of Middleborough, and Noah Alden, of Bellingham. He was a chaplain in the army almost three years of the first part of the Revolutionary War; and it was while he was at home on a visit, that the British came up to Warren, burnt the meeting and parsonage houses, carried him to Newport, and confined him in a guard ship, from which he was released in about a month, by what means he never knew. After this he preached a short time in Pomfret, Connecticut, and as the church at Warren was mostly dispersed, and many of them had gone back to the mother church at Swansea, he by the invitation of that body, became their pastor in 1779 or 1780. In this situation he continued 23 years, when he removed to Charlestown, Massachusetts, where he died, May 1, 1803, in the 56th year of his age. Mr. Thompson left behind him an unblemished character, and a large circle of cordial friends. His MS. writings were numerous, but nothing of his has appeared in print.

It was not till after the war that the church, under consideration, resumed its travel as a distinct body; they had, for about eight years after their dispersion, stood as a branch of the church at Swansea.

In 1784, they built their present meeting-house, on the same ground where their former one stood. It is 61 feet by 44, and has a steeple and bell. About two years after this house was built, Mr. John Pitman settled in the town, and ministered to this people till 1790, when he removed to Providence. After him Mr. Nathaniel Cole, now

in Plainfield, Connecticut, and others preached here occasionally, till 1793, when Mr. Luther Baker, was ordained their pastor. He was born in the town, June 11, 1770. Under his ministry some very considerable revivals have been experienced. In the year 1805, over ninety were added to their number. In September, 1812, immediately after the session of that Association, which took its name from this town, another revival commenced in which over sixty were baptized in the course of a few months. This church has a fund of about fourteen hundred dollars.

Mr. Baker a few years since removed to Providence, and became the pastor of the second church in that town. Since his removal they have settled among them Mr. Silas Hall and Mr. Daniel Chessman, both of whom have been dismissed, and the church is now destitute.

On the west side of the Narraganset Bay, in the counties of Kent and Washington, are a considerable number of churches, of which our limits prevent our giving a very particular account. A few of them are of ancient date, some arose in and after the New-Light Stir, and others have arisen within a few years past.

We shall now proceed to some account of the Associations, which have originated in this State, and to which the Rhode-Island churches now belong.

At what time the churches in this State began to associate I do not find, but it was probably at an early period. Mr. Comer gives an account of an Association or General Convention, as it was then called, 1729, which was supposed to have been the largest assemblage of brethren they had ever witnessed. Thirteen churches were represented, and the whole number of messengers was thirty-two. The churches composing this Convention, were the one in Providence, the second in Newport, two in Smithfield, and one in each of the towns of Scituate, Warwick, North and South-Kingston. In other colonies were the one in Dartmouth, now the first in Tiverton, the second in Swansea, and those of Groton, New-London, and New-York. The ministers belonging to these churches were of Providence, James Brown; of Smithfield, Jonathan Sprague; of Scituate, Peter Place and Samuel Fisk; of Newport, James Clark, Daniel Wightman, and John Comer, then supplying them after his dismission from the first church; of Warwick, Manasseh Martin; of North-Kingston, Richard Sweet; of South-Kingston, Daniel Ev-

erett; of Swansea, Joseph Mason; of Dartmouth, Philip Taber; of Groton, Valentine Wightman; of New-London, Stephen Gorton; of New-York, Nicholas Eyres. Ten of these ministers were present; the number of communicants at the convention were 250, and the number of auditors about 1000. The churches were all strenuous for the laying-on-of-hands, and were generally inclined to those doctrinal sentiments, which in England would have denominated them General Baptists. At the same time there were the first churches in Newport, Swansea, and Boston, who held decidedly to particular election, and who did not practise the imposition of hands, and for these reasons were not members of the Association. These sixteen churches comprehended at that time all the Baptists this side of New-Jersey.

It is now (1820) ninety-one years since this great Association, as it was then esteemed, was held; very considerable changes have taken place in most of the churches of which it was then composed; but the same body on the same plan of doctrine and discipline, still exists under the name of the Rhode-Island Yearly Meeting. This meeting, on account of its making the laying-on-of-hands a term of communion, and its inclination to the Arminian system of doctrine, has no connexion with any of the neighbouring Associations. It contains thirteen churches twelve ministers, and over eleven hundred members. Eight of the churches are in this State, the others are in Massachusetts and New-York.

WARREN ASSOCIATION.

This body was formed in the place from which it took its name in 1767, at which time three ministers* from the Philadelphia Association came on with a letter to encourage the measure. Only four churches at first associated, viz. Warren, Haverhill, Bellingham, and the second in Middleborough. The delegates from six other churches were present, but they did not feel themselves ready to proceed in the undertaking. As the annual commencement of the college had been fixed on the first Wednesday in September, the anniversary of the Association was appointed the Tuesday after. This arrangement is still observed. The second and third sessions of

* Mr. Backus has not mentioned their names. Dr. Jones and Morgan Edwards were probably two of them.

this Association were held in the place where it was formed. The fourth was at Bellingham and the fifth at Sutton in 1771, by which time it had increased to 20 churches and over 800 members. This year they began to print their Minutes, and have continued to do so to the present time. The two churches in Boston fell in with this establishment a few years after it was begun, but it was some time before the Providence church, which is now the oldest and largest in it, could be brought into its measures. The doctrine of the laying-on-of-hands was probably the principal cause of this delay. This Association for a number of years included a large circle of churches, which were scattered over a wide extent of country in Rhode-Island, Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Vermont, and Connecticut. Most of them were however in Massachusetts, and in process of time Boston became not far from its centre. It has, from its beginning, been a flourishing and influential body; has contained a number of ministers of eminent standing in the Baptist connexion; has successfully opposed the encroachments of religious oppression; has aided the designs of the college at Providence; has devised plans of a literary and missionary nature; and has been more or less concerned in whatever measures have had a view to the promotion of the cause of truth, of the Baptist interest in New-England, and remoter regions. By this body were presented many addresses to the rulers of Massachusetts, and some to the continental Congress against civil oppressions for conscience' sake; by it also were issued many publications in defence of religious freedom. It was almost constantly employed in measures of this kind from its formation to the close of the war in 1783; and no small success attended its exertions.

After travelling in union upwards of forty years, and witnessing within its bounds much of the divine goodness, it had become so large that its division appeared indispensable, and accordingly a new one was formed, called the Boston; of which we have already given a brief account.

In the south-west part of this State, in the counties of Kent and Washington, are eleven churches, which belong to the Stonington and Groton Associations in Connecticut. Some of them arose in the New-Light Stir in Whitefield's time. The church at Exeter, belonging to the Stonington Association, was formed in 1750; it has ever

been a flourishing body, and is now under the care of Mr. Gershom Palmer.

The large Sabbatarian church at Hopkinton will be noticed under the head of Seventh-Day Baptists towards the close of the work.

CHAP. XIII.

CONNECTICUT.

THIS State began to be settled by some of the famous Robinson's congregation in 1633, but we do not find any Baptists in it for more than seventy years from that period. In 1705, Mr. Valentine Wightman removed from North-Kingston in Rhode-Island to Groton, seven miles from New-London, where he the same year planted a church of which he became pastor. This remained the only Baptist church in this province for about twenty years: But in 1726 another was gathered in the township of New-London, on the ground which is now occupied by the Seventh-Day Baptists, and a minister by the name of Stephen Gorton became their pastor. He was a man of some eminence as a preacher, and ministered to this people for many years; but he at length fell into some scandalous conduct, for which he was deposed from his pastoral office, and the church in a short time became extinct.

In 1729, some people in Saybrook at the mouth of Connecticut river, embraced Baptist sentiments; but no church was gathered there until fifteen years after.

In 1731, some of the Pedobaptists in Wallingford, thirteen miles north of New-Haven, by reading Delaune's Plea, &c. became convinced of the error of their former creed, were baptized and united with the church at New-London, but usually met for worship in their own town, where a church was soon afterwards established.

These were some of the first efforts which our brethren made amongst the rigid Pedobaptists in this then fast-bound State.

Their progress was at first extremely slow and much embarrassed; they had to work their way against the deep-rooted prejudices of a people, who had been always taught with a sanctimonious tone that these were the vile descendants of the mad men of Munster; that they pro-

pagated errors of a pestilential and most dangerous kind; that they were aiming to subvert all the established forms of religion in the land, and on the ruin of the Pedobaptist churches to plant their heretical and disorganizing principles; that for the people to hear them preach, or for the magistrates to tolerate or connive at their meetings in any of their towns or parishes, was a crime of peculiar enormity, which would expose them to the famishing and revengeful judgments of Heaven.

Such were the sentiments of most of the Connecticut people, at the period of which we are speaking. But this host of prejudices was only a shadowy obstacle to the progress of the Baptist cause, compared with those religious laws with which the Connecticut rulers had fenced in their ecclesiastical establishment.

In the New Light Stir the foundations of this establishment were very sensibly shaken; many ministers opposed the progress of that extraordinary work of grace, as being only the fruit of error and fanaticism; divisions ensued; separate meetings were set up in many towns and parishes; Baptist principles almost every where prevailed; and many of the zealous New Lights, who began upon the Pedobaptist, brought up on the Baptist plan.

About the time, and a little after this distinguished epoch in the religious affairs of New-England, small churches were formed in Stonington, Colchester, Ashford, Lyme, Killingly, Farmington, Stratfield, and Horseneck, some of which acquired a permanent standing, while others were soon scattered and became extinct.

So slow was the increase of the Baptists in this government, that in 1760, fifty-five years after Mr. Wightman erected his standard at Groton, they had only eight or nine churches, which had acquired any degree of permanency, and most of these were small and feeble bodies.

In 1784 their number had increased to about thirty, in which were about twenty ministers From this date, the denomination began to increase much faster than it had formerly done, so that in 1795 the number of churches amounted to sixty, the ministers were about forty, and the communicants a little over *three thousand, five hundred.* These churches were scattered in every county, and in almost every township in the State.

From 1795, Baptist principles have prevailed in this populous territory as rapidly as at any former period.

But as many brethren have emigrated to other parts, the clear increase of members has not been so great as it would otherwise have been.

The River from which this State takes its name divides it into two sections nearly equal in size. The churches east of this River, belong mostly to the Stonington, Groton, and Sturbridge Associations. The Danbury Association comprehends most of those to the west of it; a few churches towards the south-west part of the State belong to the Union and Warwick Associations, in New-York.

STONINGTON UNION ASSOCIATION.*

This body was formed at the place from which it received its name in 1772. Its progress does not appear to have been marked with any peculiar events. It has now increased to twenty-two churches, five of which are in Rhode-Island, the remainder are in the south-west part of this State.

Groton.—This church was planted by Valentine Wightman in 1705, being the first Baptist church in Connecticut. The members were harassed for a while by the predominant party; but no account of their sufferings has been obtained. Mr. Wightman was born at North-Kingston, Rhode-Island, in 1681, and finished his course in a joyful manner in 1747. We have already stated that he is supposed to have been a descendant of Edward Wightman, the last man who was burnt for heresy in England. According to a tradition in his family, five brothers came to Rhode-Island in the early settlement of that colony; two of them were preachers, two were deacons, and the fifth was a professor of religion, all of the Baptist persuasion. The subject of this memoir was a son of one of these men, but nothing more particular respecting his progenitors can be learnt. He settled in Groton at the age of twenty-four, when there were but six or seven Baptists in the place.

In 1727, Mr. Wightman, being called to preach at Lyme, was opposed by Rev. Mr. Bulkly of Colchester, who challenged him to a publick dispute, which was first maintained in a verbal manner, and was afterwards kept

* The name of this body was at first simply Stonington Association; the term Union was added at the time referred to under the next head.

up in writing. Mr. Bulkly, after ransacking the records of slander for arguments against his opponent, and the Baptists generally, concludes, "They are but of yesterday, and consequently the truth cannot be with them, as being not known in the world till about two hundred years past." Mr. Wightman replied, "I never read of a Presbyterian longer than said term, how then can the way of truth be with them?" &c.*

Mr. Wightman was succeeded by Mr. Daniel Fisk, who served the church about seven years, when Timothy Wightman, one of the sons of the founder of this body, was elected its pastor. He discharged the duties of his office till a good old age, and was succeeded by his son John Gano Wightman, who was ordained in 1800. Jesse Wightman, another of his sons, is pastor of a church in West-Springfield. John Wightman, a brother of Timothy, was an eminent minister in his day, and died at Farmington in this State. From a daughter of Valentine Wightman descended four Baptist ministers, by the name of Rathbun.

Stonington.—This town is in the south-east corner of Connecticut, adjoining Rhode-Island, and directly east of Groton. In it, as it stood before its late division, were three churches belonging to the Association under consideration. The oldest of the three is situated in what is now called North-Stonington, and is under the care of Mr. Peleg Randal. It was formed in 1743; its first members were baptized by Mr. Wightman of Groton.

NEW-LONDON ASSOCIATION.

A few years since the two Associations which formerly bore the names of the Stonington, and Groton Union Conference, the churches of which were intermixed with each other, agreed to coalesce and give up their names, and so form two new Asssociations out of churches which were conveniently situated to associate together.

The River Thames, on which Norwich and New-London are situated, was agreed upon as the dividing line. The churches to the east of this river took the name of the Stonington Union Association; those to the west of it took the name above mentioned.

From the preceding sketches it appears that the county of New-London has been a fruitful nursery of Baptists

* Backus, vol II. p. 89, 90.

for more than a century. The towns of Groton and Stonington have been the most distinguished for the prevalence of the denomination. In these two towns are now five churches, which contain about one thousand communicants. Our brethren here have met with but little opposition from the ecclesiastical powers of the State, compared with what they have experienced in other parts. Their contiguity to the State of Rhode-Island has probably been a principal cause of the prevalence of their opinions and of the toleration they have enjoyed.

HARTFORD ASSOCIATION.

This body was in 1790 in the town of Danbury, from which it at first received its name. But a short time since it received the name which it now bears.

Suffield. This town is on the Connecticut River eighteen miles above Hartford. In the time of the religious agitations in New-England, two Separate churches were formed here, whose pastors were Holly and Hastings. Holly wrote first against the Connecticut establishment; then against the Baptists, and afterwards turned back and became a parish minister. Hastings persisted in his separation, and towards the close of his life became a Baptist. Some time before the year 1770, a church of the denomination arose partly out of the remains of the two Separate ones, and partly of those who had newly professed religion, and John Hastings, son of the minister just named, was ordained its pastor in 1775. He was one of the most eminent ministers among the Connecticut churches in his day, and under his labours a large and extensive church arose, which spread its branches throughout a wide extent of towns. It is said that during the whole of his ministry he baptized eleven hundred persons. He finished his course with much serenity, March 17, 1811, aged 68. His successor is Mr. Asahel Morse, late pastor of the church in Stratfield in this State.

From this church, according to a statement of its clerk, originated those of Westfield, Russell, Wintonbury, Hartford, Windsor, Enfield, Granville, Southwick, and Granby, in Massachusetts and Connecticut. Great numbers have also emigrated from this fruitful community, to different and distant parts.

In 1804, a second church was formed in this town, partly of members from this body, but not in fellowship with it.

In Colebrook, west of Suffield, adjoining Massachusetts, a church was formed in 1794, and was the first of any denomination gathered in the town. Their pastor is Mr. Rufus Babcock, a descendant of a family of that name in Westerly, Rhode-Island.

Hartford.—In this city a church was established in 1790, mostly of members from the Suffield. For a few years after they embodied, they were supplied part of the time by Elders Winchell, Moffit, and others. In 1795, Mr. Stephen S. Nelson was settled in the pastoral office, in which he continued until 1800, when he removed to Mount Pleasant in the State of New-York. Under his ministry a revival took place, in which about seventy-five were added to their number.

For about seven years from Mr. Nelson's removal, this church remained destitute of a pastor, but was generally supplied with neighbouring ministers, and two years of the time by the late Mr. David Bolles of Ashford, who, during that time, resided in the city.

In 1807, they settled among them Mr. Henry Grew from Providence. His ministry was acceptable and prosperous about four years, when he withdrew from his office, and formed a new church on the plan of weekly communion, &c.

Next to him is their present pastor, Mr. Elisha Cushman, a native of Kingston, Massachusetts.

This church has lately had a reversionary bequest of bank stock, to the amount of over eight thousand dollars from Mr. Caleb Moore, one of their members.

The religious laws of Connecticut are not much unlike those of Massachusetts. The Pedobaptist, frequently called the Presbyterian party, was taken under legal patronage in early times. The whole State was divided into parishes, in which houses of worship were built, ministers settled, and maintained all *according to law*.

The first certificate law in Connecticut was passed in favour of the Quakers, May, 1729. It provided that those who should produce from a society of that denomination a writing, certifying that they had united with them, and did attend their meetings of worship, should be exempted from ministerial taxes, &c.

In the autumn of that year a similar act was passed in favour of the Baptists.

This act appears to have been obtained principally by the friendly assistance of the Rhode-Island brethren. At an Association of their churches held in North-Kingston,

September, 1729, they drew the Memorial above-mentioned, which was signed by Richard Sweet, Valentine Wightman, Samuel Fisk, John Comer, Elders, and brethren Timothy Peckham, Joseph Holmes, Ebenezer Cook, Benjamin Herenden and others, to the number of eighteen, all of Rhode-Island except two.

This law continued in force without much variation over sixty years. The Quakers and Baptists were the only denominations exempted till about 1756, when the same privileges granted to them were extended to dissenters of all classes, provided they *ordinarily* attended meetings in their respective societies, and paid their due proportio n, &c. otherwise they should be taxed.

The words *ordinarily*, &c. were intended to restrain those, who might go off to dissenting sects from motives of economy only; but on the strength of the clause, collectors found pretexts to frequently distrain taxes from church members. A number of Baptists in Stafford had united with the church in Willington under the care of Elder Lillibridge from Rhode-Island. The distance being great and the way rough, they did not meet with the church so often as they could have wished, or the law required. The Presbyterians in Stafford, to pay the expense of a new meeting-house, taxed them all, distrained their goods, and disposed of them at public sale. The brethren then set about seeking redress, commenced an action against the distrainers for their goods, damages, &c. The affair went through two courts; in the second the counsel for our brethren plead, that they were Baptists *sentimentally*, *practically*, and *legally*. To this statement the counsel on the other side acceded, but still continued his plea against them because they did not *ordinarily* attend their own meeting. While the lawyers were disputing, the Judge, who was an Episcopalian, and not very well affected towards the predominant party, called the attention of the court by inquiring, how long a man who was a Baptist *sentimentally*, *practically*, and *legally*, must stay at home to become a Presbyterian? His Honor's logic produced the same effect upon the whole court as it must upon the reader, and the Baptists easily obtained the case.

This law underwent some modifications and amendments, by which the alternate fears of the prevailing party and the hopes of Dissenters were excited. But by the Constitution which the State has lately adopted, religion is left to stand upon its own foundation.

CHAP. XIV.

NEW-YORK.

THIS State contains almost a million of inhabitants. It stretches from the Atlantic ocean north to the River St. Lawrence, and north-west and west to the lakes Ontario and Erie.

The first appearance of Baptists in this State was in the city from which it takes its name; they were next found on Long-Island, and a third company settled in dutchess county up the Hudson River.

So late as 1764, it does not appear that there were more than four Baptist churches in this extensive territory; in 1790, they had increased to sixty, their preachers were about seventy, and their communicants not far from four thousand. There are now of the denomination somewhere between two and three hundred churches, and probably over sixteen thousand members.

NEW-YORK CITY.

BAPTIST churches of late years have increased in this famous metropolis, many of which have gained a good degree of maturity, and are large and flourishing bodies.

First, or Gold-Street Church. This church was founded on its present plan, in 1762, but a community of General or Arminian Baptists had existed on the ground long before, of which it may be proper to give a brief account. William Wickenden of Providence, Rhode-Island, during his ministry there, frequently preached in this city, where at one time, as a reward for his services, he was imprisoned four months. At what time this event took place, cannot be ascertained; it must have been before 1669, for in that year Mr. Wickenden died. From this period we hear nothing of Baptists here until about 1712, when Mr. Valentine Wightman of Groton repaired to the place, by the invitation of Mr. Nicholas Eyres, and continued his visits about two years. "His preaching place was Mr. Eyre's house. Under his ministry many became serious, and some hopefully converted. Their names were Nicholas Eyres, Nathaniel Morey, Anthony Webb, John Howes, Edward Hoyter, Cornelius Stephens, James

Daneman, Elizabeth Morey, Hannah Wright, Esther Cowley, Martha Stephens, and Mrs. —— Miller. Some time in 1714, Mr. Wightman baptized the five women in the night, for fear of the mob, who had been very troublesome, while the seven men stood by. The following text dropped into Mr. Eyres' mind, *No man doeth any thing in secret, when he himself seeketh to be known openly.* Accordingly he and the six brethren put off their design till morning, when Eyres waited on the Governor (Burnet,) told the case, and solicited protection, which the Governor promised, and was as good as his word, for he and many of the gentry came to the water side, and the rite was performed in peace. The Governor, as he stood by, was heard to say, "This was the ancient manner of baptizing, and in my opinion much preferable to the practice of modern times." The above twelve persons called Mr. Eyres to preach to them, by whose ministry the audience so increased, that a private house would not hold them. Accordingly they purchased a lot on Golden Hill, (not far from the lot where the present meeting-house now stands) and thereon built a place of worship some time in the year 1728.* The house was in being in 1774, but by mismanagement had become private property. Thus they went on to the month of September, 1724, when Messrs. Valentine Wightman, of Groton, and Daniel Wightman of Newport, formed them into a church and ordained Mr. Eyres to be their minister. To the before mentioned twelve were added, under Mr. Eyres' ministry, William Ball, Ahasuerus Windall of Albany, Abigail and Dinah North of Newton, Martha Walton of Staten-Island, and

* Among Mr. Backus' papers I found a letter addressed to the church in Providence by Elder James Brown, soliciting some assistance towards defraying the expense of this house. In this address it is stated that the brethren in New-York had purchased a lot and built them a place of worship which cost them dear. That one of their company, a man of property, on whom they much depended, had left them, and the rest being poor, they were now encumbered with a debt which they were utterly unable to discharge. It is furthermore stated that contributions had been made for these people among the Rhode-Island brethren the year before, but as farther aid was still needed, it was thought that about *five and twenty or thirty pounds* would be a suitable proportion to be raised by the church in Providence. At the close of this address there is subscribed by Mr. Brown *one pound*, and by a number of others *thirteen barrels of cider*, which was then valuable in that market.

Richard Stillwell, jun. Seven years after, that is, October, 1731, Mr. Eyres resigned the care of them to go to Newport on Rhode-Island. After him Mr. John Stephens preached to them, and baptized Robert North, Mary Morphy, Hannah French, Mary Stillwell, and two more whose names are not known. But Mr. Stephens quitting them to go to South-Carolina, and their house being taken from them, the church dissolved away after having increased to twenty-four members, and existed about eight years.

The present church originated in the following manner: About the year 1745, Mr. Jeremiah Dodge, a member of Mr. Holstead's church at Fishkill, settled in New-York, and opened a prayer, reading, and singing meeting at his own house, to which some of Mr. Eyres' church resorted; but as they were Arminians, and Dodge a strict Calvinist, no good came of it, except that the aforementioned Robert North and he agreed to invite Mr. John Pine, an unordained preacher in the church of Fishkill, to come and preach to them. His ministry took effect partly in reconciling some of the old church to Calvinism, and partly in the conversion of others, particularly John Carman and Nehemiah Oakly, who were baptized by said Holstead; but Mr. Pine dying in 1750, Mr. James Carman of Cranberry, New-York visited them and baptized, so as to increase their number to thirteen; then they were advised to join themselves to Scotch-Plains, so as to be considered a branch of that church, and to have their minister, Mr. Benjamin Miller, to preach and administer the Lord's Supper to them once a quarter; this was effected in 1753. Mr. Miller had not ministered to them many months before the audience grew too large for a private house, therefore they hired a rigging loft in Cart and Horse Lane, and made it convenient for publick worship; but being refused continuance there after 3 years, they were obliged to meet in Mr. Joseph Meeks' house in William Street, where they continued about one year; then they purchased a part of a lot on Golden Hill, and thereon built the meeting-house before described, and for the first time met in it, March 14, 1760. Having now a place of worship, and the number of members increasing to twenty-seven, they petitioned the Scotch-Plains for a dismission, which was granted them June 12, 1762, and on the 19th of the same month, they were constituted a church by

the assistance of Miller and Gano, and the same year joined the Association."*

Mr. John Gano became the pastor of this church at the time of its constitution, and continued in that office about twenty-six years, when he removed to Kentucky, as will be related in his biography. During his ministry, the church received by baptism about 300 members, and excepting the interruptions of the war, it enjoyed an almost continual scene of prosperity and enlargement. Three men of dividing principles, viz. John Murray, late of Boston, John Allen or Junius Junior, and one Dawson, a censured member, from Dr. Gifford's church in London, each in their turns attempted divisions, caused no little trouble, but in the end failed of success.

The next year after Mr. Gano's removal, this church had the happiness to settle in the pastoral office Mr. afterwards Dr. Benjamin Foster, who ministered to them with much reputation and success till 1798, when he died with the yellow fever. For a further account of this distinguished character, the reader is referred to his biography.

Successor to Dr. Foster was Mr. William Collier, who officiated here about four years.

After him was Mr. Jeremiah Chaplin, lately pastor of the church in Danvers, the birth place both of Dr. Foster and himself. He served this people about one year. Of these two pastors something has already been said under the head of Massachusetts.

The next in office here was the present pastor, Mr. William Parkinson. He was born near Fredericktown, Maryland, November 8, 1774, served a number of years as pastor of the church in that town, was three sessions chaplain to Congress, and was settled in his present station in the beginning of 1805.

The house of worship built by this church in 1760 was enlarged during the ministry of Mr. Gano, but the whole was removed, together with the parsonage house adjoining, in 1801, to make room for their present spacious edifice, which was erected the year after. It is built of stone, 80 feet by 65, and cost, including its furniture, about 25,000 dollars. It is situated in Gold-Street on a lot of 125 feet by 100.

* Morgan Edwards' MS. Materials, &c. For a further account of Mr. Fyres, see Newport, Rhode-Island.

From this church have originated the Bethel, the next to be named, the one at Peekskill up the Hudson River, those of King-Street and Stamford in Connecticut, one at Newtown on Long-Island, the Abyssinian, African Church, and North Church, both in this city. have

The ministers who have been sent out from this ancient establishment, are Messrs. Thomas Ustick, late of Philadelphia, Isaac Skillman, D. D. once pastor of the Second Church in Boston, Stephen Gano of Providence, Rhode-Island, Thomas Montayne of Southampton, Pennsylvania, Cornelius P. Wyckoff, James Bruce deceased, and John Seger.*

Bethel Church.—This church was formed from the Gold-Street not altogether harmoniously in 1770. But as the dispute was about matters of no great interest, it was soon settled, and the two churches have long travelled in fellowship together. This church in the beginning was called the second in New-York, its first pastor was Dr. John Dodge, who is now settled with the church in Canton, above Poughkeepsie. He was born on Long-Island, February 22, 1738, was bred to physic, became a Baptist in Baltimore, by means of the late John Davies, became the pastor of this church soon after it arose, and continued with it a number of years. After him they had for a number of years Mr. Charles Lahatt. Successor to him was Mr. Daniel Hall. The first house of worship belonging to this body was in Rose-Street, where they met until 1803, when they sold that and built one in Broome-Street, 44 feet by 36. Mr. Johnson Chase has laboured for a few years with this body, and under his ministry a very extensive revival has been experienced. They have also disposed of their old meeting house, and erected one of spacious dimensions, the exact size of which I am not able to state.

Fayette-Street Church.—This church arose out of a division of the Bethel in 1791; both parties claimed the name of *Second* until 1802, when their differences were adjusted, and they by mutual consent gave up their claims to priority, and took the names they now bear.

The first pastor of the church under consideration was Mr. Benjamin Montayne, now of Deer Park in this State. Successor to him was Mr. John Williams, under whose ministry they have been built up to a large and flourishing body, and to his conciliatory maxims, must, in a good

* Jubilee Sermon, &c.

measure, be attributed to adjustment of the former difficulties in which they were involved. Their first house of worship was small, their present, erected about 1800, is 60 feet by 43, situated on the street from which the church is named. This house has been removed, and in its stead a new one has been erected very spacious and commodious. Mr. Williams was born in Carnarvon county, South-Wales, in 1768, and landed in New-York, 1795.

Mulberry-Street Church.—The origin of this church was marked with some peculiarities, which were briefly as follow: In 1805, Mr. Archibald Maclay, its founder and present pastor, arrived in this city from Scotland. He was then an Independent, under the patronage of the churches of that order in his native land. He, no more than Mr. Williams, had fixed upon this metropolis as a place of settlement. Mr. Williams had designed to have gone to Pennsylvania; Mr. Maclay's place of destination was Boston; but finding here a few brethren of his own persuasion, he, in compliance with their solicitation, agreed to tarry a few weeks with them. They rented at first, and afterwards purchased the house in Rose-Street, formerly occupied by the Bethel Church. Here Mr. Maclay began his labours, a respectable congregation soon collected, and in the course of a few months a small church of the Independent persuasion was formed, which, in three years, increased to forty members. This little church arose under many discouragements, had enjoyed many tokens of Divine favour, and was united to an uncommon degree in the tender ties of christian affection. But their pastor, after a thorough investigation of the subject, was constrained to become a Baptist, and had the ordinance administered to him, December, 1803, by Mr. Williams above named, and four days after, seventeen of his church were baptized by the same administrator, a number more soon after followed their example, and in February, 1809, they were formed into a Baptist church. Their house of worship stands on a street from which the church is named. Their first house was 60 feet by 40, which has since been taken down to make room for one of much larger dimensions.

NEW-YORK ASSOCIATION.

This Association was begun in 1791. Most of the churches, of which it was formed, had previously belonged to the ancient Association of Philadelphia. A number

of them are situated in New-Jersey, where they will be noticed under the next head. This body has uniformly held its anniversaries in the city where it was formed; nothing special occurred in its progress until 1812, when a number of its churches withdrew, which have since united in forming the Hudson River Association.

WARWICK ASSOCIATION.

This body was also formed in 1791, and its oldest churches had before stood connected in the same Association with those of the one last mentioned. They are situated some distance up the country on both sides of the Hudson River.

The Warwick church, from which this Association received its name, was planted in 1766, by Mr. James Benedict, from Ridgefield, Connecticut, who became its pastor, and continued in that office till his death. This church at first was exceedingly small, but the year after it was formed, it increased to about 70, and soon amounted to 200, when it began to branch out in different directions, and from it were set off in the early stage of its existence, Wantage, Deer Park, Middleton, &c. In 1769, it joined the Philadelphia Association, under the name of Goshen. After Mr. Benedict was Mr. Thomas Jones, and then Mr. Thomas Montanye, who was ordained its pastor in 1788, at which time the war had so scattered its members, that but about thirty were to be found, and these were spread over a circumference of almost as many miles. Soon a revival commenced, and in less than a year and a half 140 were added by baptism. Many of these soon dispersed to the western country and other parts, and by them a number of other churches were founded. Mr. Montanye, after labouring here a few years, removed to his present situation at Southampton, Pennsylvania, and was succeeded by Mr. Thomas Stephens, who tarried with them but a short time. Successor to him was Lebeus Lathrop, their present pastor. They have lately built a commodious house for worship, and have an estate supposed to be worth about 1500 dollars. From this church originated James Finn, Amos and Moses Parks, Dr. John Munro, late of Galway in this State, Jehiel Wisner, and Ephraim Sanford.

Mr. John Gano resided a number of years within the bounds of this church, while exiled from his station at New-York.

UNION ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1809. Some of its churches had belonged to the one last mentioned, a few came off from the Danbury, the others had not been in any associate connexion. The centre of this body is about sixty miles above the city of New York, on the east side of Hudson River; four of the churches are in Connecticut.

In the town of Fishkill are two churches belonging to this Association; but no historical accounts of them have come to hand. It appears there was a church in this town as early as 1745, of which Mr. Holstead was pastor.

On north of this Association are a number of churches, which arose in early times; they are situated in Dutchess county, about 70 or 80 miles north of the metropolis of the State, at no great distance from the western line of Connecticut. Here seems to have been a distinguished resort for Baptists, when there were but few in any other part of the State.

In this region a considerable number of preachers have laboured at different times for about sixty years past, and a still greater number have emigrated from it to other parts. Elders Dakin, Waldo and Bullock, appear to have been the most distinguished of the company.

In Dover, below Northeast Town, are two churches, which arose from one founded by Elder William Marsh from New-Jersey, in 1755. Mr. Marsh was succeeded in the pastoral office by the late Samuel Waldo, in 1758, who ministered here with much reputation and success, upwards of thirty-five years.

Mr. Waldo was born in the eastern part of Connecticut in 1739, but was brought up in Mansfield in that State. At the age of eighteen he professed religion in the Baptist connexion, and soon after was ordained to the pastoral office in the church under consideration. His parents belonged to a Presbyterian church, but became Baptists after this son united with the denomination. Mr. Waldo's ministry was distinguished for nothing so much as piety and success. Those, who were long acquainted with him, speak of him in the highest terms of approbation, as a man of an unspotted life, of a sound mind, unusually edifying as a preacher, affable and engaging in every cir-

cle, skilful in the discipline of his church, remarkable and inimitable in the government of his family ; in a word, in him was united every qualification, necessary for a plain, profitable, and successful minister of the cross. Soon after he settled with this church, a revival commenced in which over sixty were added in a short time.

In Poughkeepsie a church was founded in 1807, partly out of the ruins of one, which had existed in the place a few years before, under the ministry of a boisterous preacher by the name of Palmer. They had for their pastor a short time after their re-organization, Mr. Francis Wayland, now of Troy, above Albany. Their present pastor is a young man by the name of Lewis Leonard, from Bridgewater, Massachusetts. They have a new commodious house of worship, and appear in a promising condition.

As we go north from this region, we find sixteen churches, belonging to the Shaftsbury Association, containing about half of the members of that body.

HUDSON RIVER ASSOCIATION.

This body as its name imports is composed of churches situated on the river from which it took its name, and is of recent date, and is in a flourishing condition.

Albany. This church was gathered in 1811. Messrs. Utley, Wayland, Webb, and Bradley have in succession laboured with this people. Under the ministry of Mr. Bradley the *Albany Theatre* was purchased by this people, and fitted up in such a manner, as to make a large and commodious house for the worship of God.

Mr. Finley from Scotland, formerly of the Presbyterian connexion, now labours with this people to good acceptance, and under his ministry the congregation has become large and flourishing.

Troy. This church was founded in 1795 under the ministry of Mr. Elias Lee, now of Ballstown springs. It has a commodious house for worship, and has enjoyed great prosperity under the ministry of Mr. Summers, their present pastor, who is a native of England, but who was sent into the ministry by Dr. Staughton's church in Philadelphia.

RENSELLAERVILLE ASSOCIATION.

THIS Association is on the west side of the Hudson River, and many of the churches composing it are at no great distance from it. The town from which it took its name is about twenty miles south-west of Albany. It began in 1796, with only three churches, viz. two in Rensellaerville and one in Broome. It has since increased to over twenty churches, and nearly two thousand members, but has been much reduced lately by dismissing churches to associate elsewhere. Many of the members of this community removed hither from New-England. Elder Philip Jenkins, late pastor of the church in Bern, died in 1811, in the 85th year of his age. He was born in one of the Kingstons, Rhode-Island, in 1727; was first a member, then a deacon of the church at Exeter, in that State. After he began to preach he planted a church in North-Kingston, which he continued to serve until about 1795, when he removed to this part of the vineyard. For more than half a century Mr. Jenkins was zealously engaged in the work of the ministry, and according to Mr. Andrew Brown, one of his members, was a man of eminent piety and usefulness, during the whole of his long and unspotted life.

SARATOGA ASSOCIATION.

THIS Association was formed by a division of the Shaftsbury in 1805. The churches of which it is composed are mostly on the east side of the Hudson River, between that and the Mohawk, and are scattered in every direction around the famous Saratoga Springs. The ground occupied by this body was, for the most part, in a wilderness state at the close of the American war, and very few of the churches were constituted previous to 1790. A number of them are large, but as no accounts of their origin and progress have been communicated, but little can be said respecting them. At Ballstown Springs is a church under the care of Elder Elias Lee, a native of Connecticut, whose name is known throughout an extensive circle, on account of his publishing a number of well-written pieces on different points of theological controversy. In this church a very extraordinary case of healing took place in the person of Martha Howel, a few years since, who, from a state of helpless decrepitude, was suddenly

restored to perfect soundness, without the application of any external means. Those who may wish to gain more particular information of this uncommon occurrence, may find it in a pamphlet published by Elder Lee.

The late eminent Lemuel Covel was sent into the ministry by the church of Providence, belonging to this Association, now under the care of Elder Jonathan Finch.

At Stillwater, within the bounds of this community, and near the place where General Burgoyne was taken, a church was formed over forty years ago, which was broken up and scattered by the devastations of the war. About 1780, Elders Beriah Kelly, one of Mr. Drake's connexion, and Lemuel Powers from Northbridge, Massachusetts, began to labour in the place, and raised two distinct churches, which in about ten years were incorporated into one under the care of Elder Powers. This church increased abundantly and spread its branches into all the surrounding country, insomuch that in 1793, after between forty and fifty had been set off from it, to found the church at Fish Creek, it contained upwards of four hundred members. But in ten years from that time it was reduced to a little more than twenty, and is now small, though beginning again to revive.

The church in Clifton Park, but eight or ten miles westward of Half Moon Point, did not see fit to take a dismission with the rest of the Saratoga churches, but still belongs to the Shaftsbury Association. It is a large and flourishing community, under the pastoral care of Elder Abijah Peck.

LAKE GEORGE ASSOCIATION

Is still north of the one last described. It is a small body, formed about the year 1809. Its name suggests its local situation. Elder Jehiel Fox, formerly of St. Coyt, appears to have been the first Baptist minister in these parts. He settled in Chester in 1797, and in this then destitute region, in the course of about twelve years, travelled about as many thousand miles, to sound the gospel to the scattered inhabitants. Elder Daniel M'Bride, a few years since, was sent into the ministry by the church in Chester, founded by Mr. Fox, and is now labouring with good effect in those parts. Mr. James Whitehead, the third minister in the Association, has removed to the State of Vermont.

THE ESSEX ASSOCIATION

Is in the northeast corner of this State, on the western shore of Lake Champlain. It was formed in 1802. The first and almost only minister in these parts for many years was Elder Solomon Brown, by whom most of the first churches in this body were planted.

ST. LAWRENCE ASSOCIATION

Was begun in 1812, of a few small churches mostly the fruits of missionary labours. It took its name from the country in which the churches are situated, which was called after a well known river, which proceeds from Lake Ontario.

BLACK RIVER ASSOCIATION.

This Association takes its name from that of a newly settled region, near the east end of Lake Ontario. It was formed in 1808. One of their principal ministers is Elder Emery Osgood, from Massachusetts, who settled here in 1803, at which time there was no ordained minister of the Baptist order within sixty miles of him. At Turin, within the bounds of this Association, now resides Elder Stephen Parsons, formerly of Middletown, Connecticut.

In what is usually called the western part of New-York, that is, in that vast range of territory west of the old settlements on the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers, between the northern Lakes and the State of Pennsylvania, is a very large assemblage of churches, which have mostly been planted within less than twenty years past. They are, with a very few exceptions, included in the Otsego, Madison, Franklin, Cayuga, and Holland Purchase Associations, which we shall briefly describe in the order here stated.

OTSEGO.

This Association was organized in 1795; but was begun under the name of a Conference the year before. At the time of its organization, Elders Werden, Cornell, and Craw, from the Shaftsbury Association, were present to counsel and assist them. The churches, of which it

was composed, had arisen very suddenly in the infant settlements around, and at no great distance from the Otsego Lake, about sixty or seventy miles west of Albany. This Association began under very encouraging prospects, and increased with great rapidity, so that by the year 1807, twelve years from its commencement, its churches amounted to fifty-five, its preachers to thirty, and its communicants to upwards of 3000. It had then become so extensive, that a division was thought proper; accordingly in 1808, a number of the western churches were dismissed and united with others in forming an Association, to which they gave the name of

MADISON.

It consisted at first of eighteen churches and fourteen ministers, among whom were some of the principal ones in the country. Its total number of members amounted to a little more than a thousand. In 1819 its number had increased to five thousand two hundred and twenty-five.

FRANKLIN.

This Association was formed in the southern bounds of the Otsego, and of churches mostly from that body in 1811. It received its name from the town of Franklin, in the county of Delaware, where there is a church of more than two hundred and fifty members, by far the largest in this body.

CAYUGA.

This Association lies at a considerable distance to the westward of those just mentioned, around the lake from which it received its name.

In 1799, a number of churches in this quarter united together, under the name of the Scipio General Conference, which arose to an Association in 1801. It had, in 1811, increased to 38 churches, 24 ministers, and over 3000 members.

HOLLAND PURCHASE CONFERENCE.

This name was given to a small collection of churches, which convened for the purpose of beginning an Association at a place called Willink, in the county of Niagara,

in 1811. The number at first was seven, all of which were small, and amongst them were but three ministers. The Holland Purchase is an extensive tract of country, in the western part of New-York. A Baptist church was formed in it in 1808, at a place called township No. 10. This was the first church of any denomination founded in this Purchase, and is the fruit of missionary labours. Mr. Roots and other missionaries have laboured much and with good effect in this remote region, in which there is now an encouraging prospect of an extensive spread of the Redeemer's cause.

To the history of this State we shall subjoin a brief account of the Baptists in

UPPER CANADA.

What few churches are found in this Province were built up mostly by missionaries from New-York, Vermont and some other States. An Association, called Thurlow, was formed in the place from which it took its name, in 1804, of only three small churches, whose ministers were Asa Turner, Joseph Winn, and Reuben Crandal. These churches were scattered over an extensive country, along the Bay of Canta, in the districts of Midland and New-Castle. About the time they were organized into an Association, they were visited by Elders Joseph Cornell and Peter P. Roots, by whose labours they were much refreshed and encouraged. The late Lemuel Covel and many other missionaries have travelled in this remote part of his Britannic Majesty's dominions, whose labours have been crowned with success, insomuch that the Thurlow Association in 1811, had increased to eleven churches, eight or nine ministers, five only ordained, and about a thousand members. What is their state since the late Canadian war I have not learnt. Elder Turner who communicated this information, is now settled at Scipio, New-York. A few churches in this province belong to the Shaftsbury Association. The one at Niagara, under the care of Elder Elkanah Holmes, has a seat in the New-York Association.

CHAP. XV.

NEW-JERSEY.

"SOMETIME after the year 1608, the Hollanders made a settlement on the spot where New-York now stands; and in 1614 obtained a patent from their countrymen. In consequence of which, and a pretended purchase from Capt. Hudson, they claimed a right to all the country from the river Connecticut to the river Delaware, and, therefore, that part now called Jersey. But neither patent nor purchase availed them; for Charles II. put in a prior claim, and supported it with armed forces, which the Hollanders were not able to resist; nevertheless, they kept possession to the treaty of Breda, in 1667. About four years before said treaty, the king gave the country to his brother the Duke of York; and the Duke, the same year, sold the western part, Jersey, to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. Those two gentlemen immediately formed a constitution, or bill of rights, for such as should be settlers; the sixth and seventh articles of which promise a "full liberty of conscience to all religious sects that should behave well." This, and the terms of obtaining land, being known abroad, British subjects began to resort hither from New-York, New-England, Long-Island, &c. these settled in the parts next to them, afterwards called East-Jersey; some of whom were Baptists. In the year 1675, and afterwards, emigrants arrived in the Delaware from England, and settled in the parts adjoining the river, since distinguished by the name of West-Jersey; some of them, also, were Baptists. About 1683, a company of Baptists, from the county of Tiperary, in Ireland, arrived at Amboy; they proceeded towards the interior parts. In the fall of 1729, about 30 families of the Tunker Baptists from Holland, but originally from Schwartzeneau in Germany, arrived at Philadelphia; some of whom, in 1733, crossed the river Delaware, and settled at Amwell in Hunterdon county. In 1734, the Rogerene Baptists arrived from Connecticut, and settled near Schooly Mountain, in the county of Morris. Thus it appears, that among the first Jersey settlers, some were of the Baptist denomination. The present Baptists are, partly, the offspring of those adventurous Baptists; and, partly, such as have been proselyted to their sentiments."

This State has been famous with the Baptists, for containing a number of old and very respectable churches, which have been supplied with preachers of peculiar eminence; some emigrated from Wales and England, but most of them were born in the country, and nurtured in the churches.

New-Jersey has given birth to a number of very eminent ministers, who removed and spent their days in other parts; among the most distinguished of these, we may reckon John Gano, James Manning, and Hezekiah Smith.

Middleton.—"This is the oldest church in the State; it is thus distinguished from the village where the meeting-house stands, in a township of the same name, and county of Monmouth, about 79 miles E. N. E. from Philadelphia. The meeting-house is 42 feet by 32, erected in 1734, on the lot where the old place of worship stood.

"For the origin of this church we must look back to the year 1667; for that was the year when Middleton, containing a part of Monmouth, and a part of Sussex counties, was purchased from the Indians by twelve men and twenty-four associates; their names are in the town book. Of them the following were Baptists, viz. Richard Stout, John Stout, James Grover, Jonathan Bown, Obadiah Holmes, John Buckman, John Wilson, Walter Hall, John Cox, Jonathan Holmes, George Mount, William Cheeseman, William Layton, William Compton, James Ashton, John Bown, Thomas Whitlock, and James Grover, jun. It is probable that some of the above had wives and children of their own way of thinking; however, the forenamed eighteen men appear to have been the constituents of the church of Middleton, and the winter of 1688, the time.

The names of the ministers who have laboured in this church, are John Bown, James Ashton, John Barrows, Abel Morgan, Samuel Morgan, and Benjamin Bennet.

Mr. Barrows is said to have been a happy compound of gravity and facetiousness; the one made the people stand in awe of him, while the other produced familiarity. As he was travelling one day, a young man passed by him in full speed; and in passing, Mr. Barrows said, "if you considered whither you are going, you would slacken your pace." He went on, but presently turned back to inquire into the meaning of that passing salute. Mr. Barrows reasoned with him on the folly and danger of horse-racing, (to which the youth was hastening:)

he gave attention to the reproof. This encouraged Mr. Barrows to proceed to more serious matters. The issue was a sound conversion. Here was a bow drawn at a venture ; and a sinner shot flying !—

Piscataway.—"The history of this church, which is the next to Middleton in point of seniority, from the beginning to the present time, is not easy of acquisition. The reason is, their records were destroyed in the revolutionary war.

"The first who preached at Piscataway, from the beginning of the settlement to 1689, were the following unordained ministers, viz. Messrs. Hugh Dunn, John Drake, and Edmond Dunham. About 1689, Rev. Thomas Killingsworth visited them, and settled them into a church, and ordained Mr. Drake to be their minister. This gave rise to the tradition, "that Mr. Killingsworth was the first minister of Piscataway, Middletown, and Cohansey." The last is true ; but the first minister of Piscataway was Rev. John Drake, who was one of the first settlers, and bore an excellent character. He laboured among them from the beginning to 1689, when he was ordained their pastor, and continued in the pastorship to his death, in 1739, which was a period of about 50 years. Mr. Drake's descendants are very numerous, and respectable among the Baptists in this region ; they claim kindred to the famous Sir Francis Drake.

"Mr. Drake's successor was Benjamin Stelle who held the office of a magistrate. He was of French original, though born in New-York ; ordained in this church, and continued in the pastorship to the month of January, in 1759, when he died in the 76th year of his age. He is said to have been a popular preacher, and a very upright magistrate.

"He was succeeded by his own son, Isaac Stelle, who became minister of Piscataway in 1752, as an assistant to his father, who was old and infirm, and continued in the ministry here to October 9, 1781, when he died in the 63d year of his age. Mr. Stelle was remarkable for his travels among the American churches, in company with his other self, Rev. Benjamin Miller."

Rev. Reune Runyon, the late pastor of this church, succeeded Mr. Stelle. He also was of French extraction, and son of Reune Runyon, Esq. ; born March 29, 1741 ; called to the ministry in this church, March, 1771 ; ordained at Morristown, March, 1772, where he continued

to April, 1780, and then returned hither. He took on him the oversight of the church in 1783, and continued therein with credit and success till his death in Nov. 1811.

Mr. James M'Laughlin succeeded him, October, 1812. He preaches half of the time at New-Brunswick, two and a half miles distant, where there is a branch of the church.

Mr. M'Laughlin has since removed to Philadelphia, and Mr. Daniel Dodge, formerly of Wilmington, Delaware, has succeeded him in the pastoral office.

The Piscataway church is the mother of the Scotch-Plains, Morristown, and the Sabbatarian church, in the same neighbourhood.

COHANSEY.—"Cohansey is the name of a river, which meanders in the neighbourhood, and from which this church takes its distinction. The meeting house stands in the township of Hopewell, and county of Cumberland, 47 miles south by west from Philadelphia.

"The rise and progress of Cohansey church cannot be easily investigated, because their records have been destroyed; nevertheless, the following historical sketches will, in part, supply the loss: "About the year 1683 some Baptists from the county of Tiperary in Ireland settled in the neighbourhood of Cohansey; particularly David Sheppard, Thomas Abbot, William Button, &c. In 1685, arrived hither from Rhode-Island government, Obadiah Holmes and John Cornelius: In 1688, Kinner Vanhyst, John Child and Thomas Lamstone were baptized by the Rev. Elias Keach, of Pennepek. About this time Rev. Thomas Killingsworth settled not far off, which increased the number of Baptists to nine souls; and probably to near as many more, including the sisters; however, the above nine persons were formed into a church, by the assistance of said Killingsworth, whom they chose to be their minister; this was done in the spring of 1690. Soon after the few Baptists who lived about Gloucester, Salem, Pennsneck, &c. united with them; so that the cords of this Zion were at first very lengthy, and continued so for 66 years; viz. till distant members began to form themselves into distinct churches, in the several neighbourhoods." The churches which were thus formed were those of Salem, Dividing Creek, and Pittsgrove.

Most of the Baptist churches in America originated from England and Wales; but Cohansey from Ireland. The Baptist church whence it sprang, is still extant in Tiperary, and distinguished by the name of Cloughketin.

"In 1710, Rev. Timothy Brooks and his company united with this church. They had emigrated hither from Swansea, in Massachusetts, about the year 1687; and had kept a separate society for 23 years, on account of difference in opinion relative to predestination, singing psalms, laying-on-of-hands, &c. Rev. Valentine Wightman of Groton, Connecticut, formed the union, on the terms of *bearance and forbearance.*

"In 1711, they built their first meeting-house, which was taken down to erect the present in its place; for from the beginning till then, they held worship in private houses, though a period of about 28 years.

"It does not appear that this people had any stated preacher, before the constitution, except Obadiah Holmes, the son of the famous Obadiah Holmes, who endured cruel scourgings at Boston, in 1651, for the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus. He was not ordained. His settling at Cohansey is placed under the year 1685, which was four years prior to the constitution. He continued an occasional preacher while he lived, though a Judge of the Common Pleas in Salem Court.

"The first pastor of Cohansey was Thomas Killingsworth, Esq. He took the oversight of the church at the constitution in 1690, and continued therein to his death, in the year 1708.

This church had in succession for pastors next to Mr. Killingsworth, Timothy Brooks, William Butcher, Nathaniel Jenkins, Robert Kelsey.

The present pastor of this church is Mr. Henry Smalley, who was sent into the ministry by the church in Piscataway, and ordained here September, 1790.

This church was well endowed in early times, but what their present income is, I have not ascertained.

Cape-May.—The foundation for this church was laid in the year 1675, when a company of emigrants from England arrived in the Delaware, some of whom settled at the Cape. Among these were two Baptists, whose names were George Taylor and Philip Hill. Taylor kept a meeting at his house till his death in 1701. Mr. Hill kept up the meeting till 1704, when he also died. After this the few brethren, who had been collected here, were visited by George Eaglesfield, Elias Keach, Thomas Griffiths, and Nathaniel Jenkins, the last of whom became the pastor of the church, which was constituted in 1712. Mr. Jenkins was a Welchman, born in Caerdican-

shire, 1678, arrived in America in 1710, and two years after settled at the Cape. "He was a man of good parts and tolerable education; and quitted himself with honour in the loan office, whereof he was a trustee, and also in the Assembly, particularly in 1721, when a bill was brought in "to punish such as denied the doctrine of the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, &c." In opposition to which, Mr. Jenkins stood up, and with the warmth and accent of a Welshman, said, "I believe the doctrines in question, as firmly as the promoters of that ill-designed bill; but will never consent to oppose the opposers with law, or with any other weapon, save that of argument, &c." Accordingly, the bill was suppressed, to the great mortification of them, who wanted to raise, in New-Jersey, the spirit which so raged in New-England."

The ministers who have had the care of the church at the Cape, from this period, were Samuel Heaton, John Sutton, Peter P. Vanhorn, David Smith, Artis Seagrave, John Stancliff, Jonathan German, and Jenkin David; most of whom, except the last, appear to have been sojourners rather than stationed pastors.

Hopewell.—"This church is distinguished, as above, from the township where the meeting-house stands, in Hunterdon county, bearing N. E. from Philadelphia, at the distance of 40 miles; the dimensions of the house are 40 feet by 30; built, in 1747, on a lot of three quarters of an acre, the gift of John Hart, Esq.

"This church is remarkable for the number of ministers, who have been raised up in it. Thomas Curtis, John Alderson, John Gano, Joseph Powel, Hezekiah Smith, John Blackwell, Charles Thompson, and James Ewing, were all licensed or ordained at Hopewell.

"The first minister who can be said to have been the settled pastor of this church, (for those before mentioned were but transiently among them) was Isaac Eaton, A. M. He was son of Joseph Eaton of Montgomery, joined Southampton church, and commenced preaching in early life. Mr. Eaton came to Hopewell in the month of April, 1748, and on the 29th of November following, was ordained pastor of the church, by Messrs. Carman, Curtis, Miller, and Pots. He continued in the pastorship to July 4, 1772, when he died in the 47th year of his age. He was buried in the meeting house; and at the head of his grave, close to the base of the pulpit, is set

up, by his congregation, a piece of fine marble, with this inscription upon it:

"In him, with grace and eminence did shine,
The man, the christian, scholar, and divine."

His funeral sermon was preached by Samuel Jones, D. D. of Pennepek; who thus briefly portrayed his character. "The natural endowments of his mind; the improvement of these by the accomplishments of literature; his early and genuine piety; his abilities as a divine and a preacher; his extensive knowledge of men and books; his catholicism, &c. would afford ample scope to flourish in a funeral oration, but it is needless." Mr. Eaton was the first man among the American Baptists, who set up a school for the education of youths for the ministry, which will be mentioned in its proper place.

About two years after Mr. Eaton's death, Rev. Benjamin Coles was elected to the pastoral office here, October 15, 1774. He however stayed with them but a short time.

Successor to him was Oliver Hart, A. M. who had fled hither from Charleston, South-Carolina, on account of the war. He took the oversight of this people, December, 1780, and continued with them till his death in 1795.

After him was Mr. James Ewing about nine years, and next to him was their present pastor, Mr. John Boggs, son of a minister of the same name, formerly of Welsh Tract.

This church has a farm with buildings for the accommodation of their pastor, valued at about 6000 dollars. From it originated the Second in Hopewell, and the one called Amwell.

Scotch Plains.—This is a branch of the ancient church at Piscataway; it was constituted with fifteen members from that body in 1747. Their meeting-house stands on the north border of the large and fertile tract of land, from which this church is named, in the township of Elizabeth, and county of Essex, between twenty and thirty miles from the city of New-York. This house is 50 feet by 30, built before, but enlarged to this size in 1759.

From this church have originated the First in New-York, Lyon's Farms, Mount Bethel and Swamptown.

The first pastor at Scotch Plains was Mr. Benjamin Miller, a native of the place. He was ordained in 1748, and continued in office here till 1781, when he died in the 66th year of his age. "All that can be said of a good, laborious and successful minister will apply to him. His frequent companion in travels was Rev. Isaac Stelle; lovely and pleasant were they in their life, and in death they were not much divided, the one having survived the other but 35 days. He also travelled much with Mr. Peter P. Vanhorn and John Gano. Mr. Miller is said to have been a wild youth; but met with a sudden and surprising change under a sermon of Rev. Gilbert Tennent, a Presbyterian minister. Mr. Tennent, it is said, christened him, and encouraged him to study the languages, to qualify him for the ministry. However that may be, Mr. Miller did spend some time at learning, under the tuition of Rev. Mr. Biram. It was there he embraced the sentiments of the Baptists, owing to the discourse of Mr. Biram at the christening of a child, and a conversation that followed between him and his pupil."

Mr. Miller's funeral sermon was preached by his affectionate friend John Gano. Between these two ministers, there had long been a private agreement, that the funeral sermon of the first who died should be preached by the survivor, provided he had word of the death; and Providence so ordered matters that this promise was fulfilled. Mr. Gano was now a chaplain in the American army, and soon after Lord Cornwallis' surrender he was going to visit his family, when he heard of Mr. Miller's death. "Never, (said Mr. Gano) did I esteem a ministering brother so much as I did Mr. Miller, nor feel so sensibly a like bereavement, as that which I sustained by his death."

The next pastor of this church was William Vanhorn, A. M. He was a son of the evangelical Peter P. Vanhorn; was born in 1746, and ordained at Southampton, in Pennsylvania, where he continued 13 years; and in 1785, settled at the Scotch Plains, where he continued until 1807, when he resigned his pastoral care here, and set out with his family, on a journey into the State of Ohio, with a view of settling on a plantation, which he had purchased in that country, near the town of Lebanon, between the Miami rivers.

This church has a commodious parsonage house, with a small estate adjoining. It has lately received a legacy

from the late James Brown, one of its deacons of about 1400 dollars. From this body originated James Manning, D. D. the first President of Brown University.

At NEWARK, nine miles from the city of New-York, a church was formed in 1801, mostly of members from Lyon's Farms. They have a new house of worship 68 feet by 48. They have had to preach for them Messrs. Charles Lahatt, Peter Thurston, Daniel Sharp, now with the third church in Boston, and John Lamb. Mr. David Jones is their present pastor. In the northern part of this State are a number of other churches.

At a place called Dividing Creek, fifty six miles south west of Philadelphia, a church arose in 1761, under the ministry of Mr. Samuel Heaton, whose history furnishes some interesting anecdotes, and is as follows: "He was born at Wrentham, Massachusetts, and was bred a Pedobaptist; he came to Jersey with three brothers about the year 1734, and settled near Black River, in the county of Morris, and there set up iron works. While there he had a son born, whom he was anxious to have "christened" by Rev. Samuel Sweesy, a Presbyterian minister of the *Separate* order; to which "christening" the wife stood averse, adding, *if you will shew me a text* that warrants christening a child, I will take him to Mr. Sweesy.* The husband offered several texts; the wife would not allow that infant baptism was in either of them. Then the husband went to Mr. Sweesy, not doubting but a thing so old and so common as infant baptism, must be in the Bible. Mr. Sweesy owned there was no text which directly proved the point; but that it was provable by deductions from many texts. This chagrined Mr. Heaton, as he had

* "This transaction coming to the knowledge of Robert Calver, a *Rogerene* Baptist, induced him to publish an advertisement in the newspaper, offering *twenty* dollars reward to any that would produce a text to prove infant baptism. Rev. Samuel Harker took him up, and carried a text to the advertiser; Calver would not allow that infant baptism was in it; Harker sued him. It seems the court were of Mr. Calver's mind, for Harker was cast, and had court charges to pay. After that, Calver published another advertisement, offering a reward of *forty* dollars for such a text; but none took him up, as Mr. Harker's attempts failed."

Infant baptism has been ten thousand times condemned by argument, but this is probably the first time it was ever condemned in a court at law.

never doubted but that infant baptism was a gospel ordinance; he went home with the resolution to act the part of the more noble Bereans, and soon met with convictions. After that he went to Kingwood and was baptized by Mr. Bonham; and so satisfied was he with what he had done, that he began to preach up the baptism of repentance in the mountains of Schooly. He laboured not in vain; for some of his proselytes went to Kingwood to receive believers' baptism. This was the beginning of the Baptist church at Schooly.

In SALEM, 36 miles south-west of Philadelphia, a church was constituted of members from Cohansey in 1755. But Baptists, particularly the Killingworths and Holmeses, had settled in the place before the year 1700.

The first pastor here was Job Shephard, a descendant of David Shephard from Ireland. His ministry was short, but respectable. Since him they have had, in succession, John Sutton, Abel Griffiths, Peter P. Vanhorn, and Isaac Skillman, D. D. It is now under the care of a young man, by the name of Joseph Shephard, who was educated in the University of Pennsylvania.

Most of the foregoing sketches are taken from Morgan Edwards' Materials, &c. for this State, published in 1792, at which time the number of churches was twenty-three; since then they have increased to over thirty. Of the temporalities of a number of churches, formerly in possession of good estates, no information has been obtained, and of course none can be given.

NEW-JERSEY ASSOCIATION.

For about a hundred years, most of the churches in this State belonged to the Philadelphia Association. Since the one at New-York was formed, the churches near the city have associated with that body. In 1811, a number of the Philadelphia churches were dismissed, and the same year were organized into a body by the name abovementioned. Nothing yet has occurred to furnish materials for an historical narrative. It was formed in perfect agreement with the mother body, from motives of convenience.

CHAP. XVI.

PENNSYLVANIA.

MOST of the Baptists in this State, except the Tunkers and Mennonists, for a great number of years from their beginning, were either emigrants from Wales or their descendants; but the first church of the denomination in the country was formed at a place called the Coldspring, in Buck's county, between Bristol and Trenton, by Thomas Dungan, who removed thither from Rhode-Island in 1684, only three years after William Penn obtained his patent of Charles II.

Pennepek, or Lower Dublin Church.—This is now the oldest church in Pennsylvania, as the one gathered by Mr. Dungan was broken up in 1702.

"The history of this church will lead us back to the year 1686, when one John Eaton, George Eaton, and Jane his wife, Sarah Eaton, and Samuel Jones, members of a Baptist church residing in Llanddewi and Nautmel, in Radnorshire, whereof Rev. Henry Gregory was pastor; also, John Baker, member of a church in Kilkenny, in Ireland, under the pastoral care of Rev. Christopher Blackwell, and one Samuel Vaus, from England, arrived and settled on the banks of Pennepek, formerly written Pemmapeka. In the year 1687, Rev. Elias Keach, of London, came among them, and baptized one Joseph Ashton and Jane his wife, William Fisher and John Watts, which increased their number to 12 souls, including the minister. These 12 did, by mutual consent, form themselves into a church in the month of January, 1688, choosing Mr. Keach to be their minister, and Samuel Vaus to be deacon. Soon after, the few emigrated Baptists in this province and West-Jersey joined them; also those, whom Mr. Keach baptized at the Falls, Coldspring, Burlington, Cohansey, Salem, Penn's-Neck, Chester, Philadelphia, &c. They were all one church, and Pennepek the centre of union, where as many as could met to celebrate the Lord's Supper; and for the sake of distant members they administered the ordinance quarterly at Burlington, Cohansey, Chester and Philadelphia; which quarterly meetings have since been transformed into three yearly meetings and an Association. Thus, for some time, continued their Zion with lengthened cords, till the brethren in remote parts set about

forming themselves into distinct churches, which began in 1699. By these detachments it was reduced to narrow bounds, but continued among the churches, as a mother in the midst of many daughters. At their settlement, and during the administration of Mr. Keach, they were the same as they are now, with respect to faith and order; but when their number increased, and emigrants, from differing churches in Europe, incorporated with them, divisions began to take place about various things, such as absolute predestination, laying-on-of-hands, distributing the elements, singing psalms, seventh-day sabbath, &c. which threw the body ecclesiastic into a fever. In the year 1747, a tumult arose about the choice of a minister, which issued in a separation. But this, and the other maladies were healed, when the peccant humours had been purged off, and the design of Providence accomplished, which design is expressed in these notable words, *There must be divisions among you, that they who are approved may be made manifest.* 1 Cor. xi. 19.

"The first minister they had was the Rev. Elias Keach. He was son of the famous Benjamin Keach, of London, and arrived in this country a very wild youth, about the year 1686. On his landing, he dressed in black, and wore a band, in order to pass for a minister. The project succeeded to his wishes, and many people resorted to hear the young London Divine. He performed well enough, till he had advanced pretty far into the sermon; then stopping short, he looked like a man astonished. The audience concluded he had been seized with a sudden disorder; but on asking what the matter was, received from him a confession of the imposture, with tears in his eyes, and much trembling. Great was his distress, though it ended happily; for from this time he dated his conversion. He heard of Mr. Dungan. To him he repaired to seek counsel and comfort, and by him he was baptized and ordained. From Coldspring, Mr. Keach came to Pennepek, and settled a church there as before related; and thence travelled through Pennsylvania and the Jersies, preaching the gospel in the wilderness with great success, insomuch that he may be considered as the chief apostle of the Baptists in these parts of America. He and his family embarked for England, early in the spring of the year 1692, and afterwards became a very famous and successful minister in London.

After Mr. Keach this church had in succession for pastors John Watts, Evan Morgan, Samuel Jones, Joseph Wood, Abel Morgan, Jenkin Jones, Peter P. Vanhorn, and Samuel Jones, D. D. who died among them between 80 and 90 years of age. He was a native of Wales, was educated in the College in Philadelphia, and was a man of learning, talents and distinguished weight of character in his own vicinity, and throughout the Baptist connexion.

PHILADELPHIA.

First, or Second Street Church.—This church is in reality nearly as old as Pennepek, and its history will lead us almost to the founding of the city.

"In the year 1686, one John Holmes, who was a Baptist, arrived and settled in the neighbourhood. He was a man of property and learning, and therefore we find him in the magistracy of the place in 1691, and was the same man who refused to act with the Quaker magistrates, against the Keithians. He died Judge of Salem Court. In 1696, John Farmer and his wife, members of a Baptist church in London, then under the pastoral care of the famous Hansard Knollis, arrived and settled in the place. In 1697, one Joseph Todd and Rebecca Woosoncroft came to the same neighbourhood, who belonged to a Baptist church at Limmington, in Hampshire, England, whereof Rev. John Rumsay was pastor. The same year one William Silverstone, William Elton and wife, and Mary Shepherd, were baptized by Thomas Killingworth. These nine persons, on the second Sunday in December, 1698, assembled at a house in Barbadoes lot, and coalesced into a church for the communion of saints, having Rev. John Watts to their assistance. From that time to the year 1746, they increased partly by emigrations from the old country, and partly by the occasional labours of Elias Keach, Thomas Killingworth, John Watts, Samuel Jones, Evan Morgan, John Hart, Joseph Wood, Nathaniel Jenkins, Thomas Griffiths, Elisha Thomas, Enoch Morgan, John Burrows, Thomas Selby, Abel Morgan, George Eglesfield, William Kinnersley, and others. From the beginning to the last mentioned time, (1746) they had no settled minister among them, though it was a period of 43 years. The first, that might be properly called their own, was Jenkin Jones; the rest belonging to oth-

er churches. They did, indeed, in 1723, choose George Eaglesfield to preach to them, contrary to the sense of the church at Pennepek; but in 1725, he left them and went to Middleton. About the year 1746, a question arose, whether Philadelphia was not a branch of Pennepek? and consequently, whether the latter had not a right to part of the legacies bestowed on the former? This, indeed, was a groundless question; but for fear the design of their benefactors should be preverted, the church, then consisting of 56 members, was formally constituted, May 15, 1746.

"The place where these people met, at first, was the corner of second-street and Chesnut-street, known by the name of *Barbadoes lot*. The building was a store-house; but when the Barbadoes company left the place, the Baptists held their meetings there. So also did the Presbyterians, when either a Baptist or Presbyterian minister happened to be in town; for as yet neither had any settled among them. But when Jedidiah Andrews, from New-England, came to the latter, the Baptists, as has generally been their lot, were, in a manner, driven away. Several letters passed between the two societies on the occasion, which are yet extant. There was also a deputation of three Baptists appointed to remonstrate with the Presbyterians, for so unkind and rightless a conduct; but to no purpose. From that time forth, the Baptists held their worship at a place near the draw-bridge, known by the name of *Anthony Morris's brew-house;* here they continued to meet till March 15, 1707, when by invitation of the Keithians, they removed their worship to Second-street, where they hold it to this day. The Keithian meeting-house was a small wooden building, erected in 1692. This the Baptists took down, in 1731, and raised on the same spot, a neat brick building, 42 feet by 30. This house was also taken down in 1762, and a more spacious one was erected on the spot, 61 feet by 42, which was also built with brick at the expense of £2200." This house was enlarged about 1808, so that their place of worship now is 61 feet by 75. The old lot was 43 feet front on Second-street, and 303 feet deep towards Third-street.

The additional ground purchased for the recent enlargement of the house, extends 37½ feet from the old lot to a court called Fremberger's, on which it has a front of 130 feet. This, with the enlargement of the house, cost 18,000 dollars.

But to return: "An accident, in 1734, had like to have deprived the church, both of their house and lot; for then one Thomas Pearl died, after having made a conveyance of the premises to the church of England. The vestry demanded possession, but the Baptists refused, and a law-suit commenced, which brought the matter to a hearing before the Assembly. The Episcopalians being discouraged, offered to give up their claim for £50. The offer was accepted, and contention ceased

"This church experienced a painful division in 1711, occasioned by the turbulent spirit of an Irish preacher, who was among them, along with Mr. Burrows. His name was Thomas Selby. When he had formed a party, he shut Mr. Burrows and his friends out of the meeting-house, who thenceforth met at Mr. Burrows' house in Chesnut-street. This was the situation of affairs when Mr. Abel Morgan arrived in 1711. But his presence soon healed the breach, and obliged Selby to quit the town, which he did in 1713, and went to Carolina, and there died the same year, but not before he had occasioned much disturbance. The ministers which this church have had from the beginning to the year 1746, are mentioned above, and some of them have been already characterized. The following are the ministers they have had since that time.

"Rev. Jenkin Jones. He was born about 1690 in the parish of Llanfernach, and county of Pembroke, and arrived in this country about 1710. He was called to the ministry in Welsh Tract in 1724; removed to Philadelphia in 1725, and became the minister of the church at that place, only, at the time of its reconstitution, May 15, 1746; for, theretofore, he had the care of Pennepek also. He died at Philadelphia, July 16, 1761, and was there buried, where a tomb is erected to his memory. Mr. Jones was a good man, and did real services to this church, and to the Baptist interest. He secured to them the possession of their valuable lot, and place of worship before described. He was the moving cause of altering the direction of licenses, so as to enable dissenting ministers to perform marriages by them. He built a parsonage house, partly at his own charge. He gave a handsome legacy towards purchasing a silver cup for the Lord's Table, which is worth upwards of £60. His name is engraven upon it."*

* Edwards' Materials, &c. p. 41—7.

"Rev. Ebenezer Kinnersley, A. M. was cotemporary with Mr. Jones. He was born, November 30, 1711, in the city of Gloucester, and arrived in this country, September 12, 1714; was ordained in 1743, and preached at Philadelphia and elsewhere to 1754, when he obtained a Professor's chair in the College of Philadelphia.

Mr. Kinnersley was a companion of Dr. Franklin in philosophical researches, and has immortalized his name on account of his improvements in electricity. He died in the vicinity of Philadelphia, and was buried in the Baptist cemetery at Lower-Dublin.

It has been asserted that this eminent man "left the Baptist communion, laid aside his clerical character, and joined the Episcopal church."* That he declined preaching after he engaged in the duties of his professorship is not denied, but that he joined the Episcopalians, Dr. Rogers declares, is incorrect: "Mr. Kinnersley," says he, "continued a firm Baptist till his death, and was a constant attendant and communicant in the First Baptist church in Philadelphia till he removed to the country." His wife was an Episcopalian, and probably his sometimes waiting on her to church, gave rise to the groundless report above mentioned,

The next pastor to Mr. Jones was Morgan Edwards, A. M. for whose character the reader is referred to his biography.

Successor to Mr. Edwards was William Rogers, D. D. who served the church about three years. During his pastoral labours a revival took place in which between forty and fifty were added. Dr. Rogers was born in Newport, Rhode-Island, July 22, 1751, O. S. was educated in Rhode-Island College, being the very first student that entered that institution, was baptized by the late Gardiner Thurston of Newport, who was his uncle, in 1770, was sent into the ministry by the church of which he was pastor in 1771, and the same year removed to Philadelphia, where he has since resided. During five years of the revolutionary war, he was a chaplain in the American army.

In 1789, he was appointed a Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, which office he held till 1812, when he resigned it. Dr. Rogers has long maintained an extensive correspondence, and is extensively known among the Baptists in America, Europe, and India.

* Retrospect of 18th Century, note, vol. ii. p. 354.

This church remained destitute of a pastor, during the revolutionary war, but in 1782, Rev. Thomas Ustick, A. M. was inducted into the pastoral office. Mr. Ustick was born in the city of New-York, August 30, 1753. He was baptized by the Rev. John Gano, in that city, when he was but little more than 13 years of age. At his baptism, Mr. Gano gave out the 138th hymn, first book, Dr. Watts, and in the second verse he parodied thus:

"His honor is engag'd to save
The *youngest* of his sheep," &c.

"Why did you not give the words as they are?" said Mr. Ustick, "The *meanest* of his sheep," for truly I am so."

Mr. Ustick was educated at Rhode-Island College, where he graduated in 1771. About three years after he left college, he was called to the ministry by the church in the city of New-York, and on the 5th of August, 1777, was ordained at Providence, Rhode-Island, by President Manning, Rev. Job Seamans, of Attleborough, and Rev. William Williams, of Wrentham. Previous to his ordination, Mr. Ustick preached awhile at Stamford, in Connecticut, and soon after he was settled at Ashford, in the same State. From that place he removed to Grafton, in Massachusetts, and from Grafton he removed to Philadelphia, as above related. In this city he continued his ministry, with much reputation, for almost 21 years. But his work in the church militant being finished, he was, we trust, removed to the church triumphant, April, 1803, in the 50th year of his age.

During his confinement, the Gospel which he had delivered to others, he assured a worthy friend, who visited him a day or two before his death, afforded him the greatest consolation. On Lord's day being visited by several brethren, he proposed to them after prayer, to sing the 138th hymn, first book:

"Firm as the earth thy Gospel stands," &c.

the same that was sung at his baptism. The night which closed the scene of life, (his son sitting up with him) sensible, no doubt, of his approaching dissolution, he was heard distinctly to say, "The Lord is my shield and my buckler." It pleased God to grant him an easy passage into eternity; departing without a groan, *he fell asleep in*

Jesus. A funeral sermon was delivered on the next Lord's-Day, by Dr. Rogers, who furnished this biography, from John xi. 11. *Our friend Lazarus sleepeth.*

Successor to Mr. Ustick was William Staughton, D. D. He was invited to the pastoral care of this church early in 1805, and continued with them about six years, when he resigned his charge to become the pastor of the new church in Sansom-Street. Under his ministry the meeting-house was enlarged, and nearly 300 added to the church by baptism.

Next to him was their present pastor, Henry Holcombe, D. D. He was born in Prince Edward county, Virginia, February 22, 1762; was carried when a child to South Carolina; was a Captain in the latter part of the revolutionary war, and when the United States Constitution was adopted by South-Carolina, Mr. Holcombe was a member of the Convention.—Before this he had began to preach, and was settled in the pastoral care of the church on Pipe Creek, in that State. In 1791, hé settled at Euhaw; afterwards was pastor of the church, which arose under his ministry at Beaufort; from which place he removed to Savannah in 1799, planted a church in that city soon after, which he served about eleven years, and then removed up the country to Mount Enon, where he intended to spend the remainder of his days in retirement. From this place he received two calls, one from the first church in Boston, the other from the one which he now serves, with the pastoral care of which he was invested in 1811.

This church has the most ample endowments of any of our connexion in America. Their property appropriated expressly for the support of their poor members, is, 1st, Three small three story brick houses, the gift of Mrs. Sarah Branson, which now rent for 900 dollars a year. 2d, Three hundred pounds Pennsylvania currency, or 800 dollars, the gift of Mrs. Sarah Smith; the interest of two thirds of this legacy is designed for the poor, the other is for the minister. 3d, $ 13, 60, per ann. the gift of John Morgan, to be distributed by the pastor at his discretion, May 8, every year. The property for the general benefit of the church is 2 brick houses, which now rent for $720 a year, one of them was formerly the parsonage.* In addition to these possessions, they have a lot

* Such was the state of their temporalities when this history was first published; what alterations have taken place I have not learnt.

of large dimensions on the river Schuylkill, on which, a few years since, they erected a building for baptismal occasions. It is of brick, two stories high, 36 feet by 18. The lower story is fitted up in the form of a vestry, with a pulpit and seats, in which the minister discourses previous to baptism. The upper story is divided into two rooms for the convenience of candidates. This lot and building cost 1600 dollars.*

Second Church.—This church is situated in that part of the city called the Northern Liberties. It was constituted of twenty members from the First Church in 1803. They have a commodious brick meeting-house 66 feet by 46, built soon after they were constituted. It stands on a lot 220 feet by 200. The building and lot cost about 11,000 dollars. About nine months after this body was organized, Mr. William White became its pastor, which office he sustained for a number of years with much reputation and success. But a few years since, on account of gross misconduct, he was dismissed from his office. Rev. James M' Laughlin is their present pastor.

Third Church was constituted of 30 members, mostly from the first, in August, 1809. It is situated in Southwark, some distance from the other churches, and is under the care of Mr. John P. Peckworth, one of the constituent members. He was born in Chatham, Kent county, England, about 1770, came to Philadelphia at the age of thirteen, four years after was baptized in Wilmington, Delaware, by Mr. Thomas Fleeson, came back to this city soon after, joined the church then under the care of Mr. Ustick, by which he was approbated to preach in 1802.

This church has erected a fine stone meeting-house 60 feet by 50, which was opened for publick worship February, 1811. It stands on South-second Street. Their lot has 63 feet front, is 200 feet deep, and 84 feet on the back side. This, with their house, cost about 16,000 dollars.

Sansom Street Church.—This also originated from the ancient community in Second Street. Its constituent members were 91, and received the fellowship of their brethren as a distinct church, January, 1811. Soon after they were organized, Dr. Staughton resigned his former charge, and became their pastor. He was born in Janu-

* This, with much other information, was communicated by Dr. Rogers.

ary 4, 1770, at Coventry, Warwickshire, England. His parents are both members of Dr. Rippon's church in London; his father was many years deacon of the church in Coventry, of which the late Mr. Butterworth, the author of the Concordance, was pastor. Dr. Staughton had his education at the Bristol Academy, under Dr. Evans, came to America and landed at Charleston, South-Carolina, in 1793, spent some time in Georgetown in that State, where he planted the church now under the care of Mr. Botsford, came to the northward in 1795, spent a short time in New-York and its vicinity, was afterwards settled at Bordenton, then at Burlington, New-Jersey, and in the last place set in order the church in that place. From Burlington he removed to Philadelphia, to succeed Mr. Ustick, as we have before related.

The church under consideration have erected a house of worship of an uncommon size and somewhat singular form. It is a circular building, 90 feet diameter, and with the lot on which it stands cost about 40,000 dollars. It is encumbered with a debt of no small amount, which however, individuals of the church have assumed in the form of a fund, until means shall be found for its liquidation.

Besides these is another church in the Northern Liberties which was lately formed from the Second Church.

In the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, a number of churches arose in early times, of which we shall give some brief accounts. Of those which have been formed of late years, but little information has been obtained.

Great Valley.—This church was planted by people from Wales in 1711. Its seat is 18 miles westward from Philadelphia. It was once handsomely endowed with lands and funds; what is the present state of its temporalities I have not been informed. The first pastor at the Valley was Mr. Hugh Davis, a native of Wales. After him was John Davis from the same country; their late pastor, Mr. David Jones, was also of Welsh extraction.

Montgomery.—This church was also founded by Welsh Baptists, and was constituted in 1719. Two of its pastors, viz. Benjamin Griffiths and John Thomas were born in the Principality, the first in the county of Cardigan, 1688, the other in that of Radnor in 1703. Who have been pastors of this body since Mr. Thomas does not appear; it is now under the care of Dr. Silas Hough.

South-Hampton was the seventh church which arose in the Province of Pennsylvania, and was constituted in

1746. It was founded by some members of the church at Pennepek, and by the remains of a society of Keithians, who settled in the neighbourhood about 1700. The first pastor was Mr. Joshua Potts, who was ordained the same year the church was constituted, and continued in office till his death in 1761. Since Mr. Potts, this church has had in succession for its pastors or supplies, Thomas Davis once at Oyster-Bay, New-York, Dr. Samuel Jones, late of Lower-Dublin, Erasmus Kelly, who died at Newport, Rhode-Island, William Vanhorn, David Jones, late of the Great Valley, Thomas Memmenger, and Thomas B. Montanye, who is still with them. Mr. Montanye was born in New-York, 1769, was settled a number of years in Warwick in that State, and came to South-Hampton in 1801. This church has a valuable estate, the gift of John Morris, one of its ancient members.

It is pleasant to find that so many brethren and sisters in the old churches through New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, had the cause of Zion so much at heart, that they made provision for its support after they were gone. If more now would think of this matter, and if churches would see that all their members did their proportion, or else turn them out of fellowship, they would not have occasion so often to go down to Egypt for help.

From the Southampton church originated those eminent ministers, Isaac Eaton and Oliver Hart.

The church at NEW-BRITAIN arose out of a division of the Montgomery, and was formed in 1754. Their three first pastors were Joseph Eaton, William Davis, and Joshua Jones all from Wales.

The HILLTOWN Church also sprang from the ancient community at Montgomery, of which it was formerly a branch. It was constituted a distinct body in 1781, had for its first pastor Mr. John Thomas, next to him Mr. James M'Laughlin, now with the Second Church in Philadelphia, and after his removal, Mr. Joseph Mathias, one of their number, began to preach, and was ordained their pastor in 1806.

PHILADELPHIA ASSOCIATION.

WHERE a particular account of churches is previously given, the less remains to be said of the Associations which they compose. We have already mentioned in Epoch Second, that this ancient Association was formed in 1707. It begun with five churches, but in process of

time, became a numerous body, and for many years extended from Ketockton in Virginia to Northeast-town in New-York, a distance of about 400 miles. From it originated the Ketockton, Baltimore, and Delaware Associations on the south; on the north, those of New-York, Warwick, and New-Jersey. Its ministers were sent for, and travelled to assist in regulating churches in trouble, in the lower parts of Virginia and even to the Carolinas. Its influence was exerted with good effect among the turbulent churchmen of Virginia, and also among the fleecing Pedobaptists of New-England. It being the oldest institution of the kind in America, was looked up to as a pattern of imitation by those which succeeded, and by it were given rules, and even doctrine, to many and indeed most of the first Associations in the southern and western States. This body has long maintained a correspondence with her sister communities in both extremes of the Union, with a number in England, and lately with the brethren in India.

In it originated the design for the Rhode-Island College, and by it have been projected many other plans, which had particularly in view the welfare of the Baptist interest in America.

About 200 miles west of Philadelphia, in and near to the Alleghany mountains, are the following churches belonging to the Baltimore Association, viz. Konoloway, Sideling-Hill, Huntington and Tuscarora-Valley.

In the county of Luzerne, near the line of New-York, on the Susquehannah River, a small Association was formed in 1807 by the name of

ABINGTON.

Its churches, in 1811, were only three in number; its ministers were William Purdy, Elijah Peck, John Miller, and Samuel Sturdivant, and its total number of members about 250.

CHEMUNG ASSOCIATION.

This body is situated in a region mostly settled since the last war in Pennsylvania and New-York. The churches in Pennsylvania are in the counties of Luzerne, Northumberland and Lycoming. Those in New-York are in the adjoining parts; the counties are not known.

It was formed of five churches, viz. Chemung, Romulus, Fredericktown, New-Bedford, and Brantrim, in 1796. Its principal ministers appear to be Roswell Goff and Thomas Smiley. The oldest church, and the mother of a number of the rest, is the one called Chemung, which was founded in 1791, in the following manner. Soon after the war, Mr. Ebenezer Green and others from the Warwick church in New-York, settled on the west branch of the Susquehannah, at a place called the Blackhole. There they kept up a meeting till they were visited by James Finn, who baptized some among them. Being disappointed about their lands, they soon removed in a body to the Chemung Flats, then just beginning to be settled. Here they were soon joined by many others from different parts, among whom was Mr. Roswell Goff, who began to preach among them, and under whose ministry they were gathered into a church at the time above mentioned. Mr. Goff was born in Spencertown, New-York, in 1763, and was baptized at Deer-Park, at the age of 25.

Mr. Smiley was born in Dauphin county, Pennsylvania, May 29, 1759, was brought up a Seceder, a rigid sect of Scotch-Presbyterians, was baptized by James Finn in 1792, at Wyoming. In the contentions about lands in this region, about the year 1800, Mr. Smiley, on account of having some governmental papers about him, was dragged out of his bed, in the dead of the night, by a band of what were called the Wild Yankees, with their faces blacked, and who, with pistols at his breast, compelled him first to burn his papers, and then tarred and feathered him. Besides this they threatened his life on account of his adhering to the Pennsylvania side, which led him to flee for safety to White Deer Valley, on the west branch of the Susquehannah, now in the county of Northumberland. Here he founded a church in 1808, over which he still presides, but travels much as a missionary in the surrounding parts under the patronage of the Philadelphia Association.

In the neighbourhood of this Association is a large church founded by Elder Jacob Drake, from Canaan, New-York, in 1796. They have become large and are scattered along the Susquehannah River to the distance of many miles. They have three Elders, whose names are David Dimock, Griffin Lewis, and Joel Rogers. They hold church meetings in eight different places every month.

THE RED STONE ASSOCIATION

Was organized in 1776. It is situated in the western part of this State, adjoining Ohio. Some few of its churches are in that State, and others are in Virginia. The centre of the Association is no great distance south of Pittsburg. One of its oldest churches was gathered in 1770, under the ministry of Elder John Sutton. It was at first called Great Bethel, now Uniontown, and is upwards of 50 miles south of Pittsburg, in the county of Fayette. This church was the mother of many others, which arose around it. Mr. Sutton was a native of New-Jersey, and was one of five brothers, who were Baptist preachers. He settled in the Red-stone country, when it was in a wilderness state, and was long a laborious and much respected preacher throughout an extensive circle of churches, which were planted either wholly or in part by his means. The time of his death is not known, but it is believed to have been not far from the year 1800.

Cotemporary with this evangelical servant of God, was the pious and successful John Corbly, who was made to drink deep of the cup of affliction. Mr. Corbly was a native of Ireland, and while young agreed to serve four years for his passage to Philadelphia. After the expiration of that term he settled in Virginia, in or near Culpepper county, where he was converted under the ministry of the renowned James Ireland. While persecution raged in that State, he was, among others, thrown into Culpepper gaol, where he remained a considerable time. This was, probably, previous to 1770, for about that date he settled in the region now under consideration, and in conjunction with Mr. Sutton, planted the first churches in it. Mr. Corbly was probably educated a Catholick, as his first wife was of that persuasion, and was a thorn in his side during her life. After her death he married an amiable woman of his own sentiments, by whom he had seven children, four of whom, with their mother, were taken from him in a barbarous and most afflicting manner. The Indians, at that time, were extremely troublesome in this county, and often committed terrible ravages among the inhabitants. Mr. Corbly and his family set out on a Lord's Day to walk to meeting, less than half a mile from his house. After going a short distance, it was found that his Bible, which had been given to his wife, had been forgotten, which oblig-

ed him to go back. On his return to overtake his family, he saw two Indians run, one of whom gave a direful yell. Suspecting evil he ran to a fort or block-house a short distance off, and obtained assistance. When he came to the place, he found his wife killed with a tomahawk; her infant, after having its brains dashed out against a tree, was thrown across her breast. Three other children lay dead on the spot, two more were terribly wounded and scalped, and apparently dead, but afterwards recovered. Only one out of the seven children remained unhurt; she was a little girl, an Indian caught hold of her and was about to dispatch her, but being seized by a large dog, she escaped and hid herself in the bushes. It was afterwards ascertained that seven Indians were engaged in this barbarous transaction. The feelings of the bereaved husband and father may better be conceived than described. For a while he remained inconsolable; but reflecting on the signal act of Providence in preserving his own life, he recovered his spirits, recommenced his ministerial labours, which, from excess of grief, were for a time suspended, married a third time, and continued a zealous and successful minister till 1805, when he finished his course in peace. One of his sons is now a Baptist minister in the State of Indiana.

Two other incidents befel this good man, which were peculiarly distressing: The first was the conduct of a base woman, who accused him of making frequent criminal propositions to her, which she offered to confirm on oath. When cited before a magistrate, she was taken with a fit of trembling, and for some time remained speechless. Some were for excusing the vile accuser, and letting the matter pass off; but Mr. Corbly insisted on her making oath—which she did, and expressly declared, that he was altogether innocent, adding, at the same time, that it was a plot laid by certain persons, whom she named.

In the Whiskey Insurrection, so called, Mr. Corbly was suspected of aiding and abetting the insurgents, and on that suspicion was suddenly arrested, carried to Philadelphia, conducted in disgrace through the streets, and lodged in gaol, where he remained some time in great affliction. While there, he was comforted and supplied by Dr. Rogers and other friends in the city. His case was never tried, and of course it was not legally determined whether he was accused falsely or not. In the

opinion of his friends he by no means deserved the treatment he received.

At *Beulah*, in the county of Cambria, in the midst of the Alleghany mountains, a church was founded by emigrants from Wales in 1797, under the direction of the late Morgan J. Rees.

The doctrine of the laying-on-of-hands became a subject of dispute among the Redstone churches a number of years ago; most of them had, from their beginning, practised the rite, but some were for making it a term of communion; it was, however, finally determined, that all should be left to act according to their respective opinions on the subject.

A church was formed in Pittsburg in 1812, which has probably united with the Association under consideration. In that year two Presbyterian ministers were baptized in Washington county, and another minister of the same denomination was to be baptized soon after at Chenango, in Ohio, not far distant.*

CHAP. XVII.

A HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS IN DELAWARE.

DELAWARE became an independent State in 1776; it contains three little counties, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex. In the first there was a Baptist society as early as 1703; they settled near Iron Hill. From them, their sentiments took a spread northward, as far as London Tract, in Pennsylvania; northeast, to Wilmington; east, to Bethel; west, to Elk river, in Maryland; southward, to Duck creek in this State; and to the Pedee river in South-Carolina.

This society was from Wales, and about the year 1733, eight or ten families more, from the same country, made a settlement at Duck creek, in Kent county, from whence their sentiments spread to Cowmarsh, and Mispillion, and to Georgetown in Maryland.

About the year 1788, Elijah Baker, and Philip Hughes, who had been labouring on the eastern shore of the Chesapeak Bay, in Maryland and Virginia, came to the county of Sussex, and made many proselytes, and planted two or three churches.

* Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine, vol. iii. p. 206.

Delaware, at present, contains seven or eight churches, and one small association, which bears the name of the State.

The histories of three of the churches, viz. Welsh Tract, Duck Creek or Brynsion, and Wilmington, will be related.

The *Welsh Tract* church is thus distinguished from a large tract of land of the same name, surrounding the place of worship in Pencader, county of New-Castle. The house is a neat brick building, 40 feet by 30; it was erected in 1746, and is situated 42 miles, in a south-western direction from Philadelphia.

To come to the history of this church, we must cross the Atlantic and land in Wales, where it had its beginning in the following manner. "In the spring of the year 1701, several Baptists, in the counties of Pembroke and Caermarthen, resolved to go to America; and as one of the company, Thomas Griffith, was a minister, they were advised to be constituted a church; they took the advice; the instrument of their confederation was in being in 1770, but is now lost or mislaid. The names of the confederates follow: Thomas Griffith, Griffith Nicholas, Evan Edmond, John Edward, Elisha Thomas, Enoch Morgan, Richard David, James David, Elizabeth Griffith, Lewis Edmond, Mary John, Mary Thomas, Elizabeth Griffith, Tennet David, Margaret Mathias, Tennet Morris; these sixteen persons, which may be styled a *church emigrant*, met at Milfordhaven in the month of June, 1701, embarked on board the good ship William and Mary; and on the eighth of September following, landed at Philadelphia. The brethren there treated them courteously, and advised them to settle about Pennepek; thither they went, and there continued about a year and a half; during which time their church increased from 16 to 37. But finding it inconvenient to tarry about Pennepek, they in 1703 took up land in New-Castle county, from Messrs. Evans, Davis, and Willis, (who had purchased said Welsh Tract from William Penn, containing upwards of 30,000 acres) and thither removed the same year, and built a little meeting-house on the spot where the present stands."

This removal left some of their members near Pennepek, and took some of the Pennepek members to Welsh Tract, yet neither would commune with their neighbours, on account of a difference about *laying-on-of-hands*;

for the church of Pennepek had grown indifferent about the rite; but that at Welsh Tract deemed it a pre-requisite to the communion of saints. To remedy this inconvenience, the churches appointed deputies, to the number of twenty-four from both, to compromise matters as well as they could; who met for the purpose, June 22, 1706.

The Welsh Tract Church was the principal, if not the sole means of introducing singing, imposition of hands, church covenants, &c. among the Baptists in the middle States. The *Century Confession* was in America, before the year 1716, but without the articles which relate to these subjects; that year they were inserted by Rev. Abel Morgan, who translated the Confession to Welsh, about which time it was signed by one hundred twenty-two members of this church. These articles were inserted in the next English edition, and adopted with the other articles by the Philadelphia Association in 1742.

The pulpit of this church was filled by great and good men of Welsh extraction, for about 70 years.

The first minister was Thomas Griffith, who emigrated with the church. All we can learn of him, is, that he was born in Lauvernach parish, in the county of Pembroke, in 1645, and after faithfully serving this church twenty-four years, died at Pennepek, July 25, 1725.

Mr. Griffith was succeeded by Elisha Thomas, who was born in the county of Caermarthen, in 1674. He emigrated from Wales with the church whereof he was one of the first members, and died November 7, 1730, and was buried in this church-yard, where a handsome tomb is erected to his memory: the top-stone is divided into several compartments, wherein open books are raised, with inscriptions and poetry both in Welsh and English.

Mr. Thomas's successor was Enoch Morgan. He was brother to Abel Morgan, author of the Welsh Concordance. Their father was Morgan Ryddarch, a famous Baptist minister in Wales; but it was a common thing, in that country, for the children to take the personal name of their father, instead of the sirname, only joining to it the names of their progenitors, by a string of *aps*.*

* I remember, says Morgan Edwards, to have seen a bible of my grand-father's with the following title page; *Fiddo Edwards ap William, ap Edward, ap Dawydd, ap Evan.* MS. Hist. of the Baptists in Delaware, p. 241.

Mr. Morgan was born in 1676, at a place called Alltgach, in the parish of Lanwenrog, in the county of Cardigan. He arrived in America with the Welsh Tract church, whereof he was one of the constituents; he took on him the care of the church at Mr. Thomas's decease, and died in 1740, and was buried in this grave-yard, where a tomb is erected to his memory.

The next pastor of this church was Owen Thomas. He was born in 1676, at a place called Gwrgodllys, in Cilmanllwyd, and county of Pembroke. He came to America in 1707; took the pastoral care of the church at Mr. Morgan's death, in which office he continued until 1748, when he resigned it, to go to Yellow Springs, where he died, November 12, 1760. Mr. Thomas left behind him the following remarkable note; "I have been called upon three times to anoint the sick with oil for recovery; the effect was surprising in every case, but in none more so, than in the case of our brother Rynallt Howel: he was so sore with the bruises which he received by a cask falling on him from a waggon, that he could not bear to be turned in bed: the next day he went to meeting."

The next in office here was David Davis. He was born in the parish of Whitechurch, and county of Pembroke, in the year 1708, and came to America when a child, in 1710; was ordained in this church in 1734, at which time he became its pastor; he continued in this office 35 years, viz. until 1769, when he died. He was an excellent man, and is held dear in remembrance by all who knew him. Two of his sons were preachers. Jonathan was a seventh-day Baptist, and John was sometime pastor of the 2d Baptist church in Boston, Mass.

Thus it appears, that hitherto the pastors of this church were all Welshmen. Those who have succeeded were native Americans, and the first was John Sutton, whose biography may be found in the history of the Emancipating Baptists, in Kentucky. He took on him the oversight of this church in 1770, and resigned it in 1777, to go to Virginia.

The next to him was John Boggs, who was ordained to the pastoral office here in 1781. He was born in East-Nottingham, in 1741; was bred a Presbyterian, but embraced the Baptist sentiments in 1771. He died at Welsh Tract, of a paralytick stroke, in 1802, and was succeeded by Gideon Ferrell, the present pastor. Mr.

Ferrell is a native of Maryland, and was born in Talbot county, in 1763. He was bred a Quaker, but was baptized by Philip Hughes, in 1770. As Mr. Boggs, his predecessor, was much inclined to itinerate in the surrounding country, for which employment he was well qualified, Mr. Ferrell had preached for the church once a month, and sometimes oftener, for the space of about seven years, before he was invested with the pastoral care of it.

The Welsh Tract church is very handsomely endowed; for after all the casualties which have befallen its temporalities, it has about thirteen hundred and thirty dollars in funds, at interest, and a lot of six acres, on which the meeting-house stands, and a plantation, the bequest of Hugh Morris, on which its pastor resides.

This church is the oldest in the State, and has now existed upwards of 100 years. It has been the mother of the Welsh Neck church in South Carolina, the London Tract, the Dutch Creek, or Brynsion, and, in some measure, of Wilmington, Cowmarsh, and Mispillion, and was one of the five churches which formed the Philadelphia Association, in 1707.

DUCK-CREEK OR BRYNSION.

This church, which was formerly distinguished by the first name, but now altogether by the latter, is situated about 70 miles to the south-west of Philadelphia. The meeting-house was built of brick in 1771, on a lot of one acre, the gift of John and Philemon Dickinson.

WILMINGTON.

This church is of later date than some other churches in Delaware, which are at present less distinguished.

It was constituted in 1735 of a few members, and was for a number of years supplied by Mr. Thomas Ainger who died among them in 1797.

For a few years after Mr. Ainger's death, the church was supplied by the occasional labours of Mr. John Boggs, sen. Gideon Ferrel, John Ellis, and Joseph Flood. Mr. Flood did, indeed, exercise the pastoral care of it, for a short time, when he was excluded for immoral conduct, and afterwards went to Norfolk, in Virginia, and was the cause of much evil and confusion. But dur-

ing the ministry of Mr. Flood, notwithstanding the blemishes of his character, there was a very considerable revival, and many were added to the church.

After remaining in a measure destitute for about five years, this church had the happiness to settle, for its pastor, Rev. Daniel Dodge, now at Piscataqua, New Jersey, under whose ministry they were prosperous and happy for many years.

Mr. Dodge, whose father was a native of Ipswich, in Massachusetts, was born in Annapolis Royal, Nova-Scotia, in 1775; but the most of his days have been spent in the United States. He professed religion at the age of 18, and united with the church in Woodstock, Vermont, then under the pastoral care of Elder Elisha Ransom. In 1797, he went to Baltimore, and preached in various places in Maryland and Virginia, before he settled in Wilmington.

CHAP. XVIII.

MARYLAND.

THIS State was at first settled by Roman Catholics, who are still considerably numerous in it; but as the government gave free toleration to all religious sects, in process of time it was settled by protestants of various denominations, and among them were some Baptists, the most noted of whom was Henry Sator, who removed hither from England about the year 1709, and settled in the northern parts near Chesnut Ridge. Soon after his settlement, he invited Baptist ministers to preach in his house, by which means a number were, from time to time, proselyted to his sentiments, and after many years, a church was formed in his neighbourhood.

The Baptists gained ground but slowly in Maryland, for more than half a century, after the first emigrants arrived here; and, indeed, there is now the smallest number of the denomination in this State of any in the Union, except that of Delaware. In 1772,* except the

* M. Edwards' Materials towards a History of the Baptists in Maryland.

Tunkers and Mennonists, it contained but two Baptist churches, and both of these were in the county of Baltimore, one of which were, in their doctrinal sentiments, General, and the other Particular Baptists. The former had for its minister, though an unprofitable one, Henry Loveall; the other was under the pastoral care of the late much respected John Davis. There were, however, at this time, two little societies of Baptists near the Potomack, which were branches of churches in Virginia.

In 1794,* Maryland contained 17 churches, in which were about 950 members. There has been a gradual increase of the denomination since, so that now, as near as can be ascertained, there are in this State, two Associations, viz. the Baltimore and Salisbury, about 23 churches, and about 12 or 1400 communicants.

The Methodists have had great success in this State, and in it their community is now considerably large. In 1785, they constituted Cokesbury College, at Abington, Harford county, which was so called in honour of Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury, bishops of the Methodist Episcopal church, which, after existing a few years, was unfortunately consumed by fire, and has never been rebuilt.

The commencement of the General Baptist church at Chesnut Ridge, has already been suggested. It appears, that George Eglesfield, from Pennsylvania, was the first minister that Mr. Sator obtained to preach in his house, after his settlement in Maryland. After him, Paul Palmer came into the neighbourhood, and baptized nine persons; he was succeeded by Henry Loveall, who baptized forty-eight more, and in 1742 formed them into a church, which, at the time of its constitution, contained 57 members.

Mr. Sator bore an excellent character, and may be considered not only the founder of this society, but of the Baptist interest in Maryland. His assistance in building the place of worship, and his gift of land to the minister, are mentioned as peculiar marks of his liberality.

This church immediately increased very fast, and began to spread over the country, and soon extended over to Opeckon and Ketockton in Virginia; insomuch that in four years the number of communicants amounted to one hundred and eighty-one.

* Asplund's Register.

The church of Particular Baptists was at first called *Winter Run*, which appellation has since been exchanged for Harford, the name of the county in which it is situated. In 1772, besides the main establishment at Winter Run, it consisted of three other branches, one near Chesnut Ridge, which met for worship in the house belonging to the General Baptists, the second was at Petapsco, and the third near Winchester. These branches have, probably, since become distinct churches, although they do not bear the names which are here given them. In this church, which was so extensive in its bounds, there were, at the date above mentioned, 138 communicants. It originated from the General Baptist church at Chesnut Ridge, in the following manner: About the year 1747, some of the members of that church, being inclined to the sentiments of the Particular Baptists, invited their ministers to preach amongst them, who continued their visits until fourteen persons had embraced their sentiments, and these were constituted into a church in 1754, by the assistance of Benjamin Griffiths and Peter P. Vanhorn, and was the same year received into the Philadelphia Association. It is an old and respectable church, and was, for upwards of 50 years, under the pastoral care of the late venerable John Davis. Mr. Davis was born in Pennepeck, in Pennsylvania, Sept. 10, 1721; was called to the ministry and ordained at Montgomery in the same State, 1756, and the same year came to Maryland, and took on him the pastoral care of this church, where he continued until his death, which happened in 1809, when he was in the 88th year of his age. He was own cousin to the late famous Benjamin Francis, of England. All that I can learn of him is, that he was a man of peculiar piety and usefulness, and no one who knew him, mentions his name without affixing some appellation expressive of his peculiar excellence. When he first arrived in Maryland, he was very roughly treated; for the people of the neighbourhood, the magistrates and the court, publickly affronted him, and used indirect arts to drive him out of the country; but in a short time, the men who were his bitterest enemies became his affectionate friends, and treated him with honour and respect.

The Harford church has been the mother of a number of others; for the churches which bear the following names, 1st Baltimore, Taney Town, Gunpowder, and Sator's, were taken from it.

The First Church in Baltimore was constituted in 1785, with 11 members, all of whom, excepting Mr. Richards, were dismissed from the Harford church. The constituents were Rev. Lewis Richards, David Shields and wife, George Prestman and wife, Richard Lemmon, Alexander M'Kim, Thomas Coal and wife, William Hobby, and Eleanor Thomas. These members had kept up a meeting in Baltimore, for a number of years before the church was organized, and were regularly supplied with preaching once a month, by Mr. Davis, the pastor of the church with which they stood connected, until their present pastor removed and settled in the city.

Mr. Richards was born in 1752, in the parish of Llanbardarn vowr, Cardiganshire, South-Wales. He made a publick profession of religion at the age of 19, and joined a society of Independents, and was shortly after introduced to the attention of the famous Lady Huntington, and studied a short time in the college which was under the patronage of that remarkable woman. He, however, suspended his studies there, with a view of pursuing them at the Orphan House in Georgia, and embarked for America with a number of his fellow students, the names of whom, and many particulars respecting them, are related in the biography of Rev. Joseph Cook. Mr. Richards was baptized by Dr. Richard Furman, at the High Hills of Santee, South-Carolina, in 1777, and was ordained the same year, in Charleston, by Rev. Messrs. Hart and Cook; and after travelling about a year in different parts of South-Carolina and Georgia, removed to Northampton county, Virginia, on the Eastern shore of the Chesapeak Bay. From this place he removed to his present station in 1784, a few months before the church over which he presides was constituted.

Some time before the constitution of this church, a number of persons had purchased a lot in the city, containing half an acre, on which the congregation have since erected their present place of worship, which is a neat brick building without galleries, 60 feet by 40. They have also erected, on the same lot a very commodious brick dwelling-house, two stories high, for the use of their minister.

This church a few years since erected a very large and costly house of worship, in which they have settled Rev. Mr. Ries, late of St. John's, New-Brunswick.

The Second Church in this city emigrated in a church capacity from England in 1794. Rev. John Healy, their pastor, emigrated with them.

A *Third Baptist Church* under the care of the Rev. Mr. Osborne, is mentioned as existing in this city, but I have not learned its character or history.

BALTIMORE ASSOCIATION.

This body was organized in 1792, and includes all the associated churches in Maryland, on the western side of the Chesapeak Bay, excepting the church of Nanjemoy, which belongs to the Ketockton Association. It also includes three churches in Pennsylvania, and two in the city of Washington. It was at first known by the name of the Association on the western shore of Maryland. The churches of which it was, at its constitution, composed, were those of Harford, Fredericktown, Seneca, Taney Town, Huntington, and Hammond's Branch. The only ministers present, or at least, who belonged to it, were John Davis, Samuel Lane, and Absalom Bainbridge, the last of whom has since removed to Kentucky, and the number in all the churches was but 253.

SALISBURY ASSOCIATION.

This Association lies wholly on the eastern shore of the Chesapeak Bay, and by this Bay is separated from the other churches in Maryland.

Baptist sentiments were first propagated in this region, by the pious and laborious Elijah Baker. Soon after he began to preach in these parts, he was joined by Philip Hughes, whose ministry was also crowned with much success. These two ministers laboured on the eastern shore, both in Maryland and Virginia, rather as evangelical itinerants, than as stationed pastors, and often visited the churches they had planted, as fathers do their children. A number of ministers and exhorters were raised up in the churches which they had established, who were instrumental in forwarding the work which they had begun. Mr. Baker, it appears, first visited these parts in 1776; and in 1782* a sufficient number of churches having been organized, they met at Salisbury, and formed themselves into an Association, which, from that cir-

* M. Edwards' Materials, &c. for Delaware, p. 246.

cumstance, received its name. For 26 years from its establishment, viz. until 1808, it progressed without any special occurrence, but gradually increased, and was in circumstances moderately prosperous. It was now thought proper that a division should be made; and as the churches of which it is composed were in the two States of Maryland and Virginia, the State line was fixed upon as the line of division, and the churches in Virginia were dismissed and formed a new Association, which was called Accomack.

The preachers in the Salisbury Association have, from the first, been distinguished rather for their piety than their parts.

Dr. Robert Lemon, at whose house the venerable Elijah Baker died, appears to have been a man of note in this body, and has, from the commencement of its sessions, almost uniformly officiated as Moderator.

John Asplund, the author of the Baptist Register, was drowned from a canoe, in 1807, in Fishing Creek, which gives name to one of the churches in this Association.

The churches now belonging to it, are in the counties of Caroline, Dorset, Somerset, and Worcester, and are all in the State of Maryland, except the one called Bethel, which is in Sussex county, in the State of Delaware.

The Baptists in Maryland, have never endured any thing from the civil power, which may properly be called persecution. There appears to have been a considerable outcry against them in 1741, and also in 1746, which was occasioned by the misconduct of Loveall and Palmer, two very disreputable preachers of their society; but the clamour and violence ceased, when it was found that the Baptists abhorred their conduct as much as any other society could do.

At a very early period, the Assembly of this State, (then a province) enacted, "that no persons, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, should be molested in respect of their religion, or in the free exercise thereof, or be compelled to the exercise of any other religion, against their consent.

"Extraordinary scenes were, at this time, exhibited on the colonial theatres. In Massachusetts, the Congregationalists intolerant towards the Episcopalians, and every other sect; the Episcopal church retaliating upon them in Virginia; and the Roman Catholicks of Maryland, tolerating and protecting all."*

* Morse's Geography.

CHAP. XIX.

Origin of the Baptists in Virginia, and a brief Account of the first Company of the Denomination, who settled in it.

VIRGINIA is famous for being the oldest State in the Union, for always containing the largest number of inhabitants, for producing many distinguished statesmen; and, for about thirty years, it has been distinguished for containing within its bounds a larger number of the Baptist denomination, than any of the other States.

"The first settlers of this country were emigrants from England, of the English church, just at a point of time, when it was flushed with complete victory over the religious of all other persuasions." Possessed as they became, of the powers of making, administering, and executing the laws, they shewed equal intolerance in this country, with their Presbyterian brethren, who had emigrated to the northern government.

"The Episcopalians retained full possession of the country about a century. Other opinions began to creep in; and the great care of the government to support their own church, having begotten an equal degree of indolence in its clergy, two thirds of the people had become dissenters at the commencement of the revolution. The laws indeed were still oppressive on them; but the spirit of the one party had subsided into moderation, and of the other, had risen to a degree of determination which commanded respect."*

We cannot learn that any of the original settlers of Virginia were Baptists, nor do we find any of this denomination in the country, until more than a century after its settlement. The accounts of their origin in the State, vary in dates and some other little matters; but the following statement, I believe, is the most correct and circumstantial which can be obtained at this late period.

In consequence of letters from Virginia, Robert Nordin and Thomas White were ordained in London, in May, 1714, and soon sailed for Virginia. But White died by the way, and Nordin arrived in Virginia, and gathered a church at a place called Burley, in the county of the Isle of Wight. There were, probably, a number of Baptists settled in this place before the arrival of Nordin, by whose request, and for the service of whom,

* Morse's Geography, vol. I. 3d ed. p. 625.

he and White were ordained, and undertook the distant voyage; but who, or how many these were, or how long they had been there, are inquiries which we cannot answer.

Mr. Nordin continued preaching at Burley and other places, until he died in a good old age in 1725. Two years after his death, viz. in 1727, Casper Mintz and Richard Jones, both preachers, arrived from England, and settled with the church at Burley, and Jones became their pastor. Both of these ministers were living in 1756, as appears by a letter which this church sent at that time, to the Philadelphia Association.

In the year 1729, as appears by a letter sent by Rev. Paul Palmer, from North-Carolina, to Rev. John Comer of Newport, Rhode-Island, there was, besides the church at Burley, another in the county of Surry. Respecting these churches, Mr. Palmer, wrote as follows: "There is a comely little church in the Isle of Wight county, of about thirty or forty members, the Elder of which is one Richard Jones, a very sensible old gentleman, whom I have great love for. We see each other at every Yearly Meeting, and sometimes more often. There is another church in Surry county, where my brother Jones lives, I suppose of about thirty more."

How long these churches continued in existence, I cannot exactly learn. Respecting the one in the county of Surry, no information can be obtained, except what is found in Mr. Palmer's letter. The one in the Isle of Wight, we have good reason to believe continued on the ground where it was established between forty and fifty years, when, according to Morgan Edwards' account, it was broken up, partly by sickness, and partly by the removal of families from hence to North-Carolina, where they gained many proselytes, and in ten years became sixteen churches. They were all *General Baptists;* but in a few years after their settlement in North-Carolina, they began to embrace the Calvinistick sentiments, as will be seen in the history of the Baptists in that State. In 1756, the church at Burley sent the following letter to the Philadelphia Association:

"The church of Jesus Christ in Isle of Wight county, holding adult baptism, &c. to the Reverend and General Assembly or Association at Philadelphia, send greeting. We the above mentioned church, confess ourselves to be under clouds of darkness, concerning the faith of

Jesus Christ, not knowing whether we are on the right foundation, and the church much unsettled; wherefore, we desire alliance with you, and that you will be pleased to send us helps, to settle the church, and rectify what may be wrong; and subscribe ourselves your loving brethren in Christ, Casper Mintz, Richard Jones, Randal Allen, Joseph Mattgum, Christopher Atkinson, Benjamin Atkinson, David Atkinson, Thomas Cafer, Samuel Jones, William Jordan, John Allen, John Powel, Joseph Atkinson.—Dec. 27, 1756."

This is the last account I can find of this church; what was done by the Association in their case I do not find. Messrs. Miller, Vanhorn, and Gano, travelled frequently into Virginia and North-Carolina, about this time, for the purpose of regulating the disordered churches, and it is probable; that in some of their journies, they visited this one which made such an honest confession of their deplorable state.

It does not appear that this company of Baptists suffered any persecution or civil embarrassments, from the time of their settlement in Virginia to that of their dispersion. They probably obtained legal licenses for their assemblies, in conformity to the act of toleration.

As this community appears to have been transferred from Virginia to North-Carolina, the reader is referred to the history of the Baptists in that State, where a more particular account of them will be given.

CHAP. XX.

History of the second Company of Baptists, in Virginia, who emigrated hither from Maryland; together with a general Account of the Regular Baptists, from their Commencement in Virginia to the present time.

THE next appearance of the Baptists in this State, was in the northern parts of it, in the counties of Burkley, Rockingham, and Loudon, on the ground, which was afterwards occupied by the Regular Baptists. Between the years 1743 and 1756, three churches were gathered in these counties, by the names of Opeckon, which was afterwards called Millcreek, Smith's and Lynville's Creek, and Ketockton. A brief account of the origin of these churches will now be given.

The church on Opeckon creek appears to have been the oldest of the three, and was gathered and renovated in the following manner. In the year 1743, a number of the members of the General Baptist church at Chesnut Ridge, in Maryland, removed to Virginia, and settled in this place; the most noted of whom were Edward Hays and Thomas Yates. Soon after their removal, their minister, Henry Loveall, followed them, and baptized about fifteen persons, whom he formed into a church on the Arminian plan. Mr. Loveall, becoming licentious in his life, was turned out of the church,* and returned to Maryland; and the church was broken up, or rather transformed into a church of Particular Baptists, in 1751, by the advice and assistance of Messrs. James Miller, David Thomas, and John Gano, who was, at that time, very young. Mr. Miller had visited this church in some of his former journies, and had been instrumental of much good among them; and when they, in their troubles occasioned by Loveall's misconduct, petitioned the Philadelphia Association for some assistance, he and Mr Thomas were appointed by the Association for the purpose. Mr. Gano, though not appointed, chose to accompany them. The account of this transaction is thus given by Mr. Gano: "We examined them, and found that they were not a regular church. We then examined those who offered themselves for the purpose, and those who gave us satisfaction, we received, and constituted a new church. Out of the whole who offered themselves, there were only three received. Some openly declared, they knew they could not give an account of experiencing a work of grace, and therefore need not offer. Others stood ready to offer, if a church was formed. The three beforementioned were constituted, and six more were baptized and joined with them. After the meeting ended, a number of old members went aside and sent for me. They expressed their deplorable state, and asked me if I would meet with them that evening, and try to instruct them. They were afraid the ministers blamed them. They had been misled, but it was not their fault, and they hoped I would pity them. I told them I would with all my heart, and endeavoured to remove their suspicion of the ministers. They met, and I spoke to them from these words, "*They*,

* Life of Gano, pp. 40 and 50.

being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God." I hope I was assisted to speak to them in an impressive manner; and they to hear, at least some of them, so as to live. They afterwards professed, and became zealous members, and remained so, I believe, until their deaths."*

It was in the bounds of this church, that Stearns and Marshall met on their way to North-Carolina. At this time, Samuel Heaton was their pastor, and acted in that capacity until 1754, when he removed to Knolowa, Pennsylvania, and was succeeded by Mr John Garrard, who is supposed to have been a native of Pennsylvania, and who became the most distinguished pastor the church had hitherto enjoyed. The Opeckon church united with the Philadelphia Association, soon after its renovation in 1751. They became very warm and animated in their religious exercises, and more particularly so, after Mr. Marshal and the zealous Separates came amongst them; and they soon went to such lengths in their New-Light career, that some of the less engaged members lodged a complaint against them in the Association to which they belonged. Mr. Miller was again sent for the purpose of adjusting their difficulties. When he came, he was highly delighted with the exercises, joined them cordially, and said, if he had such warm-hearted christians in his church, he would not take gold for them. He charged those who had complained, rather to nourish than complain of such gifts. The work of God revived among them, and considerable additions were made to the church. The country, in which they had settled, was but thinly inhabited, and was subject to the inroads of the Indians. Some of these savage eruptions took place not long after Mr. Garrard had settled among them; in consequence of which, he and many of the church removed below the Blue Ridge, and resided for some time in Loudon county, on Ketockton creek. This evil was overruled for good; for by the labours of Mr. Garrard in his new residence, to which, by the barbarous intruders, he was obliged to repair, many were brought to a knowledge of salvation, and a church was formed, which was called Ketockton, in 1756, and Mr. Garrard became their pastor.

* Gano's life, p. 49, 50.

The Smith's and Lynville's creek church, afterwards called Smith's creek, is said to have been constituted also in 1756. There were some Baptist families in this place as early as 1745, eleven years before the church was organized, but from what place they emigrated, we are not informed; only it is stated that one John Harrison, wishing to be baptized, went as far as Oyster bay, on Long-Island, in the State of New-York, to obtain an administrator. As there were Baptist churches and ministers much nearer, the presumption is, that he, if no others, had removed from that place.*

We must date the origin of the Regular Baptists in Virginia about the year 1750, but it was not until ten years after, that they began to flourish and prevail to any considerable extent. In 1760, David Thomas, who had often visited the State before, in his evangelical excursions, now removed from Pennsylvania, and became a resident in it, where he acted a most distinguished part for thirty years; when he removed to Kentucky, where he was living, but almost blind, in 1809. As this eminent servant of God, if yet living, must be above eighty years old, and can therefore be but little affected by the praises or censures of men, we shall take the liberty of saying more about him in the following narrative, than we generally intend to say of the living.

Mr. Thomas was born August 16, 1732, at Loudon Tract, Pennyslvania, and had his education at Hopewell, New-Jersey, under the famous Isaac Eaton, and so considerable were his literary acquirements, that the Rhode-Island College (now Brown University) conferred on him the degree of Master of Arts.

Mr. Thomas made his first stand in Virginia, in Berkley county, with, or in the neighbourhood of the

* I have followed Mr. Semple with regard to the time of the constitution of the Ketockton and Smith creek churches But according to Mr. Gano's account, one of them must have been formed at least five or six years before; which of them I cannot tell, for his account is very indefinite. But it appears to be certain that before the year 1751, there was a young church which had been constituted somewhere in this region by David Thomas, which had no pastor, and which in that year "applied to the Philadelphia Association for some one to administer the ordinances amongst them" Mr. Gano also mentions, in his account of his journey to the southward, immediately after his ordination, in 1754, that the church at Blue Ridge applied to the Philadelphia Association, &c. Gano's life, pp. 40—55.

Opeckon or Millcreek church; but in 1762, he removed to the county of Fauquier, and became the pastor of the Broadrun church, which was gathered soon after he removed to the place.

The origin of the Broadrun church, and the manner in which Mr. Thomas was introduced among them, are related as follow. A short time previous to his removing to Virginia, two men in this region, without any public preaching, became much concerned about their souls and eternal things, were convinced of the reality of vital religion, and that they were destitute of it. While labouring under these convictions, they heard of the Baptists, (New-Lights, as some called them) in Berkley county, and set out in search of them; and after travelling about sixty miles over a rough and mountainous way, they arrived amongst them, and by their preaching and conversation were much enlightened and comforted, and were so happy as to find what had hitherto to them been mysterious, how a weary and heavy laden sinner might have rest. The name of one of these men was Peter Cornwell, who afterwards lived to a good old age, and was so eminent for his piety, as to receive from his neighbours and acquaintance the title of "*Saint Peter.*"* It is related by Mr. Edwards, "that this Peter Cornwell induced Edmund Hays (the same man who removed from Maryland to Virginia, in 1743) to remove and settle near him, and that interviews between the families of these two men were frequent, and their conversation religious and devout; insomuch that it soon began to be talked of abroad as a very strange thing. Many came to see them, to whom they related what God had done for their souls, exhorted, prayed, and read the Bible, and other good books, to the spreading of seriousness through the whole neighbourhood." Cornwell and his companion, (whose name is not mentioned) in a short time made a second visit to Berkley, and were baptized; and Divine Providence had so ordered matters, that in this visit they met with Mr. Thomas, whom they invited to go down and preach amongst them. He accepted the invitation, and settled with them, as before related, and soon became the instrument of diffusing gospel light in Fauquier and the adjacent counties, where ignorance and superstition had long prevailed.

* Fristoe's Hist. of the Ketockton Asso. p. 100.

Mr. Thomas is said to have been a minister of great distinction in the prime of his days; for besides the natural endowments of a strong and vigorous mind, and the advantages of a classical and refined education, he had a melodious and piercing voice, pathetic address, expressive action, and, above all, a heart filled with love to God, and his fellow-men, whom he saw overwhelmed in sin and misery. But for a few of the first years of his ministry in Virginia, he met with much rustick persecution from the rude inhabitants, who, as a satirical historian observes, "*had not wit enough to sin in a genteel manner.*"*

Outrageous mobs and individuals frequently assaulted and disturbed him. Once he was pulled down as he was preaching, and dragged out of doors in a barbarous manner. At another time a malevolent fellow attempted to shoot him, but a by-stander wrenched the gun from him, and thereby prevented the execution of his wicked purpose. "The slanders and revilings," says Mr. Edwards, "which he met with, are innumerable; and if we may judge of a man's prevalency against the devil, by the rage of the devil's children, Thomas prevailed like a prince." But the gospel flourished and prevailed; and Broadrun church, of which he was pastor, in the course of six or eight years from its establishment, branched out, and became the mother of five or six others. The Chappawomsick church was constituted from that at Broadrun, in 1766. The Baptists in this church met with the most violent opposition. One Robert Ashly and his gang, (consisting of about 40) combined against them, with the most determined and envenomed hostility. Once they came to harass them at their worship, and entered the house with violence; but some stout fellows, not able to bear the insult, took Ashly by the neck and heels, and threw him out of doors. This infernal conspiracy continued to vent their rage against the Baptists, by throwing a live snake into the midst of them at one time, and a hornet's nest at another, while they were at worship; and at another time they brought fire-arms to disperse them. But Ashly dying, soon after, in a miserable manner, struck a damp on their mischievous designs, and procured quietness for a while to the poor sufferers, whom the civil powers left to the mercy, or rather to the rage and insolence of such an infuriated banditti.

* Morgan Edwards.

But to return to Mr. Thomas. He travelled much, and the fame of his preaching drew the attention of people throughout an extensive circle; and they travelled, in many instances, fifty and sixty miles to hear him. It is remarkable, that about this time, there were multiplied instances, in different parts of Virginia, of persons, who had never heard any thing like evangelical preaching, who were brought, through divine grace, to see and feel their want of vital godliness. Many of these persons, when they heard Mr. Thomas and other Baptist preachers, would travel great distances to hear them, and to procure their services in their own neighbourhoods. By this means, the gospel was first carried into the county of Culpepper. Mr. Allen Wyley, a man of respectable standing in that county, had been thus turned to God; and not knowing of any spiritual preacher, he had, sometimes, gathered his neighbours, and read the Scriptures, and exhorted them to repentance; but hearing, after a while, of Mr. Thomas, he and some of his neighbours travelled to Fauquier to hear him. As soon as he heard him, he knew the joyful sound, submitted to baptism, and invited him to preach at his house. He came; but the opposition from the wicked was so great that he could not preach. He went into the county of Orange, and preached several times, and to much purpose. Having, however, urgent calls to preach in various other places, and being much opposed and persecuted, he did not attend here as often as was wished. On this account it was, that Mr. Wyley went to Pittsylvania, to procure the labours of Samuel Harris; an account of which will be given in the history of the Separates. Mr. Thomas and Mr. Garrard, sometimes together and sometimes apart, travelled and propagated the pure principles of Christianity in all the upper counties of the Northern Neck; but Mr. Thomas was far the most active.

The priests and friends of the establishment, viewed with a jealous eye these successful exertions of the Baptists, and adopted various methods to embarrass and defeat them. The clergy often attacked the preachers from the pulpit; called them false prophets, wolves in sheeps' clothing, and many other hard names equally unappropriate and slanderous. But unfortunately for them, the Baptists retorted these charges, by professing to believe their own articles; at least, the leading ones,

and charged them with denying them; a charge which they could easily substantiate: for the doctrines most complained of, as advanced by the Baptists, were obviously laid down in the common prayer-book.

When they could not succeed by arguments, they adopted more violent measures. Sometimes the preachers, and even some who only read sermons and prayed publickly, were carried before magistrates, and though not committed to prison, were sharply reprimanded, and cautioned not to be righteous overmuch.

In two instances only, does it appear, that any person in these parts, was actually imprisoned on account of religion, although they suffered much abuse and persecution from outrageous mobs and malicious individuals. The one, it seems, was a licensed exhorter, and was arrested for exhorting at a licensed meeting-house. The magistrate sent him to jail, where he was kept until court; but the court, upon knowing the circumstances, discharged him. The other was James Ireland, who was imprisoned in Culpepper jail, and in other respects treated very ill. At the time of his imprisonment, Mr. Ireland was a Separate Baptist, but he afterwards joined the Regulars. The reasons why the Regular Baptists were not so much persecuted as the Separates were, that they had, at an early date, applied to the General Court, and obtained licenses for particular places of preaching, under the toleration law of England; but few of their enemies knew the extent of these licenses; most supposing, that they were by them, authorized to preach any where in the county.

The Regulars were considered less enthusiastick than the Separates. They were frequently visited by a number of eminent and influential ministers from the Philadelphia Association, and they also had, at their head, the learned and eloquent David Thomas, who, after stemming the torrent of prejudices and opposition for a few years, acquired an extensive fame and great weight of character, even in the eyes of his enemies; and was the means of procuring a degree of quietude and respectability for his reproached and persecuted brethren. But in the most persecuting times, the Baptist cause still flourished, and the work of grace progressed. New churches were constituted, and young preachers were raised up. Of these, none were more distinguished than Richard Major, although he was past the meridian

of life before he embarked in the ministry. He seems to have made such good use of his time, that he did more in the vineyard than many who had toiled all the day. Daniel and William Fristoe, Jeremiah Moore, and others, were early fruits of Elder Thomas's ministry. These young heralds, uniting their endeavours with those of the more experienced, became zealous labourers in the vineyard of the Lord.

Before the year 1770, the Regular Baptists were spread over the whole country, in the Northern Neck above Fredericksburg. Between 1770 and 1780, their cords still continued to be lengthened. Mr. Lunsford, a young but extraordinary preacher, carried the tidings of peace downwards, and planted the Redeemer's standard in those counties of the Northern Neck which are below Fredericksburg. Messrs. Corbley, Sutton, and Barnet, had moved over the Alleghany, and had raised up several churches in the northwest counties, as early as 1775. Mr. John Alderson had gone, in 1777, to Greenbrier, and in a few years raised up a people for God in that region. Besides these there were some others, who moved more southward, and raised up a few churches.

During the time of the great declension of religion among the Virginia Baptists, which prevailed soon after the close of the war, the Regulars were under the cloud as well as their brethren the Separates; and they also participated in the great revival in 1785, and some years following.

An account of the present state of religion amongst the churches and people who were formerly called Regular Baptists, will be given in the general observations with which we shall conclude the history of this State. But before we close this chapter, it is proper to give a brief history of the Ketockton Association, together with those Associations which have originated from it.

The Ketockton Association was formed in 1766, and was the fifth Association of Calvinistick Baptists in America. The Philadelphia, the Charleston, Sandy-creek, and Kehukee Associations were formed before it; and besides these was the Rhode-Island Yearly Meeting of Arminian Baptists. This Association contained but four churches at the time of its organization, viz. the Mill-creek, the Smith's-creek, the Ketockton, and Broadrun; the three first of which were dismissed from the Phila-

delphia Association, with which body they united soon after they were constituted. These churches held Yearly Meetings for a number of years before they were organized into an Association.*

Very few things appear to have transpired in the progress of this body, worthy of being detailed. It adopted the Philadelphia confession of faith at its commencement, and progressed with order, regularity, and propriety. It also experienced an annual increase of churches and members, during what may be termed the rise of the Baptists, in the region in which it was situated, although it did not increase so rapidly as many new Associations have done.

In 1789 a temporary division of this body was made, and a new Association, called Cappawamsick, was taken from it; but for some cause, which is not related, both bodies re-united in 1792. The union with the Separate Baptists, which the Regulars long sought and desired, and which was happily effected in 1787, by delegates from this Association, will be mentioned in the history of that community.

It is said by Rev. William Fristoe, the historian of this Association, that about 40 churches have joined it from first to last, and that at one time the churches were scattered over an extent of country, about 300 miles in length, and 100 in breadth.† But as a number of churches have been dismissed to unite with other Associations, its bounds are now much contracted.

In 1775, four churches were dismissed from this Association, for the purpose of forming the Redstone Association, in the back parts of Pennsylvania, whose history has already been given; and in 1793, a number of churches more were dismissed to unite with some others, who originated from the Separates, in forming an Association, which was called Greenbrier, which lies in the back and mountainous parts of Virginia.

Mr. John Alderson, whose father removed from New-Jersey, and became the first pastor of the Smith's-creek church, began, in 1775, to visit the region in which the Greenbrier Association is now situated, when the country was in a wilderness condition, both in a natural and spirit-

* Asplund and Edwards date the beginning of this Association in 1765; but by Semple's account, the churches were in this year dismissed from the Philadelphia, and organized the year after.

† Fristoe's Hist. of the Ketockton Assoc. p. 13.

ual sense. Having met with some success and encouragement, he, in 1777, removed his family into those parts, and in a few years had the happiness of being instrumental in planting a number of churches. What appears to be the most remarkable event in his history in this region is, that although he travelled much throughout an extensive circle, yet for seven years after his settlement here, he never saw nor heard any Baptist preacher but himself. The inhabitants of this uncultivated wilderness were interrupted by the ravages of the Indians, soon after Mr. Alderson settled among them, and were obliged to keep shut up in forts, for the space of four years. During which time, this laborious minister, generally attended by a small guard, travelled through the dangerous wilds from one fort to another, continually exposed to the lurking savages, to preach the gospel to the self-confined prisoners.

Mr. Josiah Osbourne is one of the ministers of this Association, who is remarkable for having published a piece in defence of the peculiar sentiments of the Baptists, in the Colloquial strain, under the title of David and Goliath. This piece, written by an obscure and almost altogether illiterate man, is considered by many, as one of the best treatises on baptism that has ever been published, and for perspicuity and force of argument, certainly excels many of the elaborate productions of learned divines.

The Union Association lies wholly in Virginia, and in the northwest part of the State, and is in what were formerly the bounds of the Ketockton Association; but all the churches which formed it were dismissed from the Redstone Association.

CHAP. XXI.

General History of all the Separate Baptists in Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, from the Time of their Settlement at Sandy-Creek, North-Carolina, 1755, to the Division of their extensive Connexion, in 1770.

THE appellation of Separates first began to be given to a set of Pedobaptist reformers, whose evangelical zeal was produced by the instrumentality of the famous

George Whitefield, and other eminent itinerant preachers of that day, and who began their extraordinary career about the year 1740. Soon after these reformers, who were at first called New-Lights, and afterwards Separates, were organized into distinct Societies, they were joined by Shubael Stearns, a native of Boston, (Mass.) who, becoming a preacher, laboured among them until 1751, when he embraced the sentiments of the Baptists, as many others of the Pedobaptist Separates did about this time, and soon after was baptized by Rev. Wait Palmer. Mr. Stearns was ordained the same year in Tolland, (Conn.) the town in which he was baptized. by the said Wait Palmer and Joshua Morse, the former being pastor of the church in Stonnington, and the latter of New-London, in Connecticut.

Mr. Stearns and most of the Separates had strong faith in the immediate teachings of the Spirit. They believed, that to those who sought him earnestly, God often gave evident tokens of his will. That such indications of the divine pleasure, partaking of the nature of inspiration, were above, though not contrary to reason, and that following these, still leaning in every step upon the same wisdom and power by which they were first actuated, they would inevitably be led to the accomplishment of the two great objects of a christian's life, the glory of God and the salvation of men. Mr. Stearns, listening to some of these instructions of Heaven, as he esteemed them, conceived himself called upon by the Almighty to move far to the westward, to execute a great and extensive work. Incited by his impressions, in the year 1754, he and a few of his members, took their leave of New-England. He halted first at Opeckon, in Berkley county, Virginia, where he found a Baptist church under the care of the Rev. John Garrard, who received him kindly. Here also he met his brother-in-law, the Rev. Daniel Marshall, who was also a Separate, and of whom much will be said in the history of the southern Baptists, just returned from his mission among the Indians, and who, after his arrival at this place, had become a Baptist. They joined companies, and settled for a while on Cacapou, in Hampshire county, about 30 miles from Winchester. Here, Stearns not meeting with his expected success, felt restless. Some of his friends had moved to North-Carolina; he received letters from these, informing him, that preaching was greatly desired by the people of that country; that in some instances they had rode

40 miles to hear one sermon. He and his party once more got under way, and, travelling about 200 miles, came to Sandy-creek, in Guilford county, North-Carolina. Here he took up his permanent residence. The number of families in Stearns's company were 8, and the number of communicants 16, viz. Shubael Stearns and wife, Peter Stearns and wife, Ebenezer Stearns and wife, Shubael Stearns, jun. and wife, Daniel Marshall and wife, Joseph Breed and wife, Enos Stimson and wife, Jonathan Polk and wife.

As soon as they arrived, they built them a little meeting-house, and these sixteen persons formed themselves into a church, and choose Shubael Stearns for their pastor, who had, for his assistants at that time, Daniel Marshall and Joseph Breed, neither of whom were ordained.

The inhabitants about this little colony of Baptists, although brought up in the Christian religion, were grossly ignorant of its essential principles. Having the form of godliness, they knew nothing of its power. Stearns and his party, of course, brought strange things to their ears. To be born again, appeared to them as absurd as it did to the Jewish doctor, when he asked, if he must enter the second time into his mother's womb and be born. Having always supposed that religion consisted in nothing more than the practice of its outward duties, they could not comprehend how it should be necessary to feel conviction and conversion; and to be able to ascertain the time and place of one's conversion, was, in their estimation, wonderful indeed. These points were all strenuously contended for by the new preachers. But their manner of preaching was, if possible, much more novel than their doctrines. The Separates in New-England had acquired a very warm and pathetic address, accompanied by strong gestures and a singular tone of voice. Being often deeply affected themselves when preaching, correspondent affections were felt by their pious hearers, which were frequently expressed by tears, trembling, screams, and acclamations of grief and joy. All these they brought with them into their new habitation, at which the people were greatly astonished, having never seen things on this wise before. Many mocked, but the power of God attending them, many also trembled. In process of time, some of the inhabitants became converts, and bowed obedience to the Redeemer's sceptre. These uniting their labours with the others, a

powerful and extensive work commenced, and Sandy-creek church soon swelled from 16 to 606 members.

Daniel Marshall, though not possessed of great talents, was indefatigable in his labours. He sallied out into the adjacent neighbourhoods, and planted the Redeemer's standard in many of the strong holds of Satan. At Abbot's-creek, about thirty miles from Sandy-creek, the gospel prospered so largely, that they petitioned the mother church for a constitution, and for the ordination of Mr. Marshall as their pastor. The church was constituted; Mr. Marshall accepted the call, and went to live among them. His ordination, however, was a matter of some difficulty. It required, upon their principles, a plurality of elders to constitute a presbytery. Mr. Stearns was the only ordained minister among them. In this dilemma, they were informed, that there were some Regular Baptist preachers living on Pedee river, (S. C.) To one* of these, Mr. Stearns applied, and requested him to assist him in the ordination of Mr. Marshall. This request he sternly refused, declaring that he held no fellowship with Stearns's party; that he believed them to be a disorderly set; suffering women to pray in public, and permitting every ignorant man to preach that chose; and that they encouraged noise and confusion in their meetings. Application was then made to Mr. Leadbetter, who was then pastor of the church on Lynch's-creek, Craven county, South-Carolina, and who was a brother-in-law of Mr. Marshall. He and Mr. Stearns ordained Mr. Marshall to the care of this new church. The work of grace continued to spread, and several preachers were raised in North-Carolina. Among others was James Read, who was afterwards very successful in Virginia. When he first began to preach he was very illiterate, not knowing how to read or write. His wife became his instructor, and he soon acquired learning sufficient to enable him to read the Scriptures.

The gospel was carried by Mr. Marshall into the parts of Virginia, adjacent to the residence of this religious colony, soon after their settlement. He baptized several persons in some of his first visits. Among them was Dutton Lane, who, shortly after his baptism, began to preach. A revival succeeded, and Mr. Marshall at one time baptized 42 persons. In August, 1760, a church

* This minister was, probably, Rev. Nicholas Bedgegood, at that time pastor of the church at Welsh Tract.

was constituted, and Mr. Lane became their pastor. This was the first Separate Baptist church in Virginia, and in some sense the mother of all the rest. The church prospered much under the ministry of Mr. Lane, aided by the occasional visits of Mr. Marshall and Mr. Stearns. They endured much persecution, but God prospered them, and delivered them out of the hands of all their enemies.

Soon after Mr. Lane's conversion, the power of God was effectual in the conversion of Samuel Harris, a man of great distinction in those parts. But upon being honoured of God, he laid aside all worldly honours, and became a labourer in the Lord's vineyard. In 1759, he was ordained a ruling elder. From the commencement of his ministry, for about seven years, his labours were devoted chiefly to his own and the adjacent counties. Being often with Mr. Marshall in his ministerial journies, he caught the zeal, diligence, and indeed the manners of this zealous evangelist. His labours were crowned with the blessing of Heaven wherever he went. Stearns, though not as laborious as Marshall, was not idle. He seems to have possessed the talent of arranging the materials when collected, and well understood discipline and church government.

Marshall's impressions led him to travel farther south. Accordingly, after prosecuting his successful ministry a few years in North-Carolina, and the neighbouring parts of Virginia, he took an affectionate leave of the church over which he presided, and of his friends in that region, and settled on Beaver-Creek, in South-Carolina, not far from 200 miles to the north-west of Charleston. Marshall, after tarrying a few years at different places in South-Carolina, and having been the instrument of raising up a number of churches, and laying the foundation for many others, in 1771 removed to Georgia, and settled on the Kioka-creek, about 18 miles to the west of Augusta, where a church was soon gathered by his means, as some of his brethren had removed into that place before him. Mr. Marshall was accompanied by a few of the North-Carolina Separates, on his removal from them, and was soon followed by others, among whom were some ministers, particularly Joseph Breed and Philip Mulky, the last of whom was, for many years, a very famous and successful preacher in South-Carolina; and by the labours of those preachers and some others, who were soon raised up in the parts,

seven churches were gathered by the year 1770, some of which were very large, and consisted of a number of branches, which were shortly after formed into distinct churches.

While Marshall was sojourning southward, and planting churches in the various places where he pitched his frequent habitations, Harris bent his course to the northward, amongst his rude and insolent countrymen the Virginians; and while his brethren were thus engaged to the north and south of him, Stearns maintained his station at Sandy-creek, where his labours were greatly blessed; he however often travelled a considerable distance in the country around, to assist in organizing and regulating the churches which he and his associates were instrumental in raising up. Thus the Separate Baptists were headed by three most distinguished men; distinguished not for human acquirements, but for purity of life, and godly simplicity, which they, amidst the shipwrecks of many, maintained to the end; and for a pious ardour and invincible boldness and perseverance in their Master's service. Other preachers were soon raised up under their ministry, whose zealous and abundant labours were crowned with great success; so that the Separates, in a few years became truly a great people, and their churches were scattered over a country whose whole extent from north to south, was about 500 miles; and Sandy-creek church, the mother of them all, was not far from the centre of the two extremes.

"Very remarkable things (said Morgan Edwards, in 1775) may be said of this church, worthy a place in Gilli's book, and inferior to no instance he gives of the modern success of the gospel in different parts of the world. It began with 16 souls, and in a short time increased to 606, spreading its branches to Deep-river and Abbot's-creek, which branches are gone to other provinces, and most of the members of this church have followed them; insomuch, that in 17 years it is reduced from 606 to 14 souls. The cause of this dispersion was the abuse of power which too much prevailed in the province, and caused the inhabitants at last to rise up in arms, and fight for their privileges; but being routed, May 16, 1771, they despaired of seeing better times, and therefore quitted the province. It is said 1500 families departed since the battle of Almance, and, to my knowledge, a great many more are only waiting to dispose of

their plantations, in order to follow them. This is to me an argument, that their grievances were real, and their oppression great, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary.

"The church at Little-river was no less remarkable than the one already mentioned; for this was constituted in 1760, five years after the Sandy-creek, and in three years it increased from 5 to 500, and built five meeting-houses; but this church was also reduced by the provincial troubles and consequent dispersion of the inhabitants, mentioned above.

"But to return. Sandy-creek church is the mother of all the Separate Baptists. From this Zion went forth the word, and great was the company of them who published it. This church, in seventeen years, has spread her branches westward as far as the great river Missisippi; southward as far as Georgia; eastward to the sea and Chesapeak Bay; and northward to the waters of Potomack; in seventeen years, it became mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother, to 42 churches, from which sprang 125 ministers, many of which are ordained, and support the sacred character as well as any set of clergy in America; and if some have turned out bad, where is there a set of clergy that can throw the first stone, and say, "We all are good?" As for the outcries, epilepsies, and ecstacies attending their ministry, they are not peculiar to them; the New-England Presbyterians had these long before; and in Virginia, it is well known that the same effects attend the ministry of some clergymen of the church of England, particularly Rev. Messrs. Derreaux Garret, and Archibald M'Roberts. The enchantment of sounds, attended with corresponding actions, have produced greater effects than these; though I believe a preternatural and invisible hand works in the assemblies of the Separate Baptists, bearing down the human mind, as was the case in primitive churches. 1 Cor. xiv. 25."

But Virginia, in about ten years after their settlement, became, to the Separates, their principal scene of action, of suffering, and success. Their movements here, we shall now proceed to state; being prepared, from Semple's History of the Virginia Baptists.

Harris seemed destined of God to labour more extensively in Virginia than in any other State. And having done much good in his own neighbourhood, in the

year 1765, the time arrived for him to extend his labours. In January of this year, Allen Wyley, an inhabitant of Culpepper, and who had been baptized by David Thomas, hearing of the Separate Baptist preachers, travelled as far as Pittsylvania, in order to get one or more of them to come and preach in his own county. He travelled on, scarcely knowing whither he went; but an unseen hand directed his course. He providentially fell in with one of Mr. Harris' meetings. When he came into the meeting-house, Mr. H. fixed his eyes upon him, being impressed previously that he had some extraordinary message. He asked him whence he came, &c. Mr. W. told him his errand. Upon which, after some deliberation, believing him to be sent of God, Mr. H. agreed to go. Taking three days to prepare, he set out with Wyley, having no meetings on the way, yet exhorting and praying at every house where he went.

Arriving in Culpepper, his first meeting was at Wyley's own house. He preached the first day without interruption, and made appointments for the next. But when he began his meeting, such violent opposition was made by a company, who appeared with whips, sticks, clubs, and other rustic weapons, as to hinder his labours; in consequence of which, he went, that night, over to Orange county, and preached with much effect. He continued many days preaching from place to place, attended by great crowds, and followed throughout his meetings by several persons who had been either lately converted, or seriously awakened, under the ministry of the Regular Baptists, and also by many who had been alarmed by his own labours. When Mr. Harris left them, he exhorted them to be steadfast, and advised some in whom he discovered talents, to commence the exercise of their gifts, and to hold meetings among themselves. In this ministerial journey, Mr. Harris sowed much good seed, which yielded afterwards great increase. The young converts took his advice, and began to hold meetings every Sabbath, and almost every night in the week, taking a tobacco-house for their meeting-house. After proceeding in this way for some time, they applied to Mr. David Thomas, who lived somewhere north of the Rappahannock, to come and preach for them, and teach them the ways of God more perfectly; he came, but in his preaching expressed some disapprobation of the preaching of such weak and illite-

rate persons. This was like throwing cold water upon their flaming zeal; they took umbrage, and resolved to send once more for Mr. Harris. Some time in the year 1766, and a short time after Mr. Thomas's preaching, three of the party, viz. Elijah Craig and two others, travelled to Mr. Harris's house, in order to procure his services in Orange and the adjacent parts, to preach and baptize the new converts. They found, to their surprise, that he had not been ordained to the administration of the ordinances. To remedy this inconvenience, he carried them about 60 miles into North Carolina to get James Read, who was ordained.

There is something singular in the exercise of Mr. Read about this time. He was impressed with an opinion that he had frequent teachings from God; and indeed, from the account given by himself, we must either doubt his veracity, or admit that his impressions were supernatural. He declares that respecting his preaching in Virginia, for many weeks, he had no rest in his spirit. Asleep or awake, he felt his soul earnestly impressed with strong desires to go to Virginia, to preach the gospel. In his dreams he thought that God would often shew him large congregations of Virginians assembled to hear preaching. He was sometimes heard by his family to cry out in his sleep, "O Virginia! Virginia! Virginia!" Mr. Graves, a member of his church, a good man, discovering his anxiety, and believing his impressions to be from God, offered to accompany him. Just as they were preparing to set out, Mr. Harris and the three messengers mentioned above, came for him to go with them. The circumstances so much resemble Peter's call from Joppa to Cæsarea, that we can hardly for a moment hesitate in placing implicit confidence in its being a contrivance of Divine Wisdom.

Mr. Read agreed to go, without much hesitation. One of the messengers from Spottsylvania went on to appoint meetings on the way. The two preachers, after filling up some appointments in their own parts, pursued their contemplated journey, accompanied by Mr. Graves and the other two. In about two weeks they arrived in Orrange, within the bounds of Blue-Run Church, as it now stands. When they came in sight, and saw a very large congregation, they were greatly affected. After a few minutes of prayer and reflection, they recovered their courage, and entered upon their great work. They

preached with much effect on that day. The next day they preached at Elijah Craig's, where a vast crowd attended. David Thomas and John Garrard, both preachers of the Regular Order, were at this meeting. The ministers on both sides seemed desirous to unite, but the people were against it; the larger part siding with the Separates. As they could not unite, the next day being Sabbath, both parties held meetings but a small distance from each other. Baptism was administered by both. These things widened the breach. Messrs. Read and Harris, however, continued their ministrations. Mr. Read baptized 19 the first day, and more on the days following. They went through Spottsylvania, into the upper parts of Caroline, Hanover, and Goochland, sowing the seeds of grace and peace in many places. So much were they inspirited by these meetings, that they made appointments to come again the next year. In their second visit, they were accompanied by the Rev. Dutton Lane, who assisted them in constituting and organizing the first Separate Baptist church between the Rappahannock and James river. This took place on the 20th of November, 1767. The church was called Upper Spottsylvania, and consisted of 25 members, including all the Separate Baptists north of James river. This was a mother to many other churches.

Read and Harris continued to visit these parts for about three years, with wonderful effect. In one of their visits, they baptized 75 at one time, and in the course of one of their journies, which generally lasted several weeks, they baptized upwards of 200. It was not uncommon, at their great meetings, for many hundreds of men to encamp on the ground, in order to be present the next day. The night meetings, through the great work of God, continued very late; the ministers would scarcely have an opportunity to sleep. Sometimes the floor would be covered with persons struck down under the conviction of sin. It frequently happened, that when they would retire to rest at a late hour, they would be under the necessity of arising again, through the earnest cries of the penitent. There were instances of persons travelling more than one hundred miles to one of these meetings; to go forty or fifty was not uncommon.

On account of the great increase of members, through the labours of Messrs. Read and Harris, aided by a number of young preachers, it was found necessary to constitute several other churches.

In the year 1758, three years after Stearns and his company settled at Sandy-creek, a few churches having been constituted, and these having a number of branches which were fast maturing for churches, Stearns conceived that an Association composed of delegates from them all, would have a tendency to forward the great object of their exertions. For this purpose he visited each church and congregation, and explaining to them his contemplated plan, induced them all to send delegates to his meeting-house in January, 1758, when an Association was formed, which was called *Sandy-creek*, and which continues to the present time; but it has experienced many vicissitudes of prosperity and adversity; and at one time, on account of exercising too much power over the churches, it became much embarrassed in its movements, and very near to extinction.

For twelve years, all the Separate Baptists in Virginia and the two Carolinas, continued in connexion with this Association, which was generally held at no great distance from the place where it originated. All who could, travelled from its remote extremities, to attend its yearly sessions, which were conducted with great harmony, and afforded sufficient edification to induce them to undertake with cheerfulness these long and laborious journies. By the means of these meetings, the gospel was carried into many new places, where the fame of the Baptists had previously spread; for great crowds attending from distant parts, mostly through curiosity, many became enamoured with these extraordinary people, and petitioned the Association to send preachers into their neighbourhoods. These petitions were readily granted, and the preachers as readily complied with the appointments. These people were so much engaged in their evangelical pursuits, that they had no time to spend in theological debates, nor were they very scrupulous about the mode of conducting their meetings. When assembled, their chief employment was preaching, exhortation, singing, and conversing about their various exertions in the Redeemer's service, the success which had attended them, and the new and prosperous scenes which were opening before them. These things so inflamed the hearts of the ministers, that they would leave the Association with a zeal and courage, which no common obstacles could impede.

"At our first Association, (says the MS. of James Read, who was present) we continued together three or four days. Great crowds of people attended, mostly through curiosity. The great power of God was among us. The preaching every day, seemed to be attended with God's blessing. We carried on our Association with sweet decorum and fellowship to the end. Then we took leave of one another, with many solemn charges from our reverend old father Shubael Stearns, to stand fast unto the end."

At their next Association they were visited by Rev. John Gano, who at that time resided in North Carolina, at a place called the Jersey settlements. Mr. Gano was received by Stearns with great affection; but as there was at that time an unhappy shyness and jealousy between the Regulars and Separates, by the others he was treated with coldness and suspicion; and they even refused to invite him into their Association. But Mr. Gano had too much knowledge of mankind, humility and good nature, to be offended at this treatment. He continued a while as a spectator of their proceedings, and then retired with a view of returning home. Stearns was much hurt and mortified with the shyness and incivility of his brethren, and, in the absence of Mr. Gano, expostulated with them on the matter, and made a proposition to invite him to preach with them. All were forward to invite him to preach, although they could not invite him to a seat in their Assembly. With their invitation he cheerfully complied, and his preaching, though not with the *New-Light* tones and gestures, was in demonstration of the Spirit and with power. He continued with them to the close of their session, and preached frequently, much to their astonishment, as well as edification. Their hearts were soon opened towards him, and their cold indifference and languid charity were, before he left them, enlarged into a warm attachment and cordial affection. And so superior did his preaching talents appear to them, that the young and illiterate preachers said they felt as if they could never attempt to preach again.

This great Association, which the next year had increased to 74 churches, continued to meet together for the space of eight years from this period. But the revolutionary war coming on, the embarrassments and anxieties which it occasioned, in a great measure checked

their progress and prosperity; their meetings generally were but thinly attended, and their principal transactions appear to have consisted in making exertions to free themselves from the civil grievances and oppressions, under which they, as a denomination, laboured.

CHAP. XXII.

A short Account of the General Committee.

THIS body succeeded the General Association, and was composed of delegates from all the Associations which could, with convenience, or were disposed to send messengers to it. But many of the Virginia Baptists were suspicious that this body would, in time, grow into something like a Synod or Dictating Council, and for that reason stood aloof from it for a time; and, indeed, those who sanctioned it, and assisted in promoting its measures, were so much afraid of *horns*, that they gave it scarcely any *head* or power. But with all its restrictions, most of which were probably necessary in order to secure the independency of the numerous churches, over whose affairs it presided, it was a very useful body, and was instrumental in tearing off, one after another, the civil and ecclesiastical shackles, by which the Baptists, and other dissenters from the Episcopal Establishment in Virginia, had been sorely galled, until an entire and equal freedom was by law established.

The General Committee was organized in 1784, and continued its operations fifteen years, viz. until 1799, when it was dissolved.

This Committee was much engaged, for a few years from its organization, in petitioning the General Assembly for a repeal of what was called the vestry law, and the old law which disqualified all dissenters from celebrating the rites of matrimony; but most of all, against the bill for a general assessment, &c. All these laws, which were so obnoxious to the Baptists, and which the struggling and expiring spirit of the old establishment was striving to maintain; and, indeed, every oppressive vestige of this establishment, the Committee finally had the happiness of seeing abolished.

Reuben Ford, John Williams, John Leland, and John Waller, appear to have been the most active in conducting the general affairs of the Virginia Baptists, in these times.

Jeremiah Walker, who had formerly been their secretary, their counsellor, and even their publick champion, had fallen from his elevated station, and removed to Georgia. Mr. John Leland removed from New-England, and settled in Orange county, Virginia, in the year 1776: he continued about fourteen years in the State, and during the struggles for religious freedom, Mr. Leland took an active and successful part. But his exertions in this field were but a small part of his services in Virginia; for during his residence there, he travelled extensively, preached abundantly, and baptized between six and seven hundred persons.

The political grievances against which this Committee exerted their influence will be more particularly mentioned in the next chapter. The most remarkable acts which were performed by this body, besides their attention to these civil affairs, were their effecting an union with the Regular Baptists.

This union took place at a time when a revival of religion had commenced, which soon burst forth on the right hand and on the left, throughout the State, "and nothing," says Mr. Semple, their historian, "could be more salutary than this conjunction of dissevered brethren, and the accommodating temper of the parties by which it was effected; and they have, from that period to the present time, most fully demonstrated, that it was an union of hearts as well as parties."

In the next year after this pleasing event, there originated in this committee the first proposal for publishing *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Baptists in Virginia*. A number of persons were chosen to engage in collecting materials; and the next year, a sufficient number having been collected for the purpose, Messrs. John Leland and John Williams were appointed to commence the work. The compilation of this proposed history devolved on different hands, by whom considerable progress was made, although much remained yet to be done, when it was finally and solely undertaken by the Rev. Robert B. Semple, by whom it was finished in a very acceptable manner, and presented to the publick in the year 1809.

The General Meeting of Correspondence.

This Meeting, like the General Committee, is formed of delegates from all the Associations which choose to promote it. It was organized in 1800, and has continued its anniversary sessions to the present time.

The name of this body is sufficiently descriptive of its nature and design. Having, however, never had much business assigned it, its operations have hitherto been much circumscribed. But the advantages resulting from a general intercourse of the Associations in Virginia were so obvious, that the promoters of this Convention were willing to have a meeting on any terms which would accomplish that end.

The last account we have received from this Meeting was in 1809, when it was laudably engaged in devising plans "for the religious education of children, and the establishment of some seminary or publick school, to assist young preachers to acquire literary knowledge."

CHAP. XXIII.

From the Commencement of legal Persecution, until the Abolition of the Established Church.

WHEN the Baptists first appeared in North Carolina and Virginia, they were viewed by men in power as beneath their notice; none, said they, but the weak and wicked join them; let them alone, they will soon fall out among themselves, and come to nothing. In some places this maxim was adhered to, and persecution in legal shape was never seen. But in many others, alarmed by the rapid increase of the Baptists, the men in power strained every penal law in the Virginia code, to obtain ways and means to put down these disturbers of the peace, as they were now called.

It seems by no means certain, that any law in force in Virginia authorized the imprisonment of any person for preaching. The law for the preservation of peace, however, was so interpreted as to answer this purpose; and, accordingly, whenever the preachers were apprehended, it was done by a peace warrant.

The first instance of actual imprisonment, we believe, that ever took place in Virginia, was in the county of Spottsylvania. On the 4th of June, 1768, John Waller, Lewis Craig, James Childs, and others, were seized by the Sheriff, and hauled before three magistrates, who stood in the meeting-house yard, and who bound them in the penalty of one thousand pounds, to appear at Court two days after. At Court they were arraigned as disturbers of the peace; on their trial, they were vehemently accused by a certain lawyer, who said to the Court, "May it please your worships, these men are great disturbers of the peace; they cannot meet a man upon the road, but they must ram a text of Scripture down his throat." Mr. Waller made his own and his brethren's defence so ingeniously, that they were somewhat puzzled to know how to dispose of them. They offered to release them, if they would promise to preach no more in the county, for a year and a day. This they refused, and therefore, were sent into close jail. As they were moving on from the court-house to the prison, through the streets of Fredericksburg, they sung the hymn, "*Broad is the road that leads to death*," &c. This had an awful appearance. After four weeks confinement, Lewis Craig was released from prison, and immediately went down to Williamsburg, to get a release for his companions. He waited on the deputy governor, the Hon. John Blair, stated the case before him, and received the following letter, directed to the King's Attorney, in Spottsylvania:

"Sir,—I lately received a letter signed by a good number of worthy gentlemen, who are not here, complaining of the Baptists; the particulars of their misbehaviour are not told, any farther than their running into private houses, and making dissensions. Mr. Craig and Mr. Benjamin Waller are now with me, and deny the charge. They tell me they are willing to take the oaths, as others have. I told them I had consulted the Attorney-General, who is of opinion, that the General Court only have power to grant licenses, and therefore I referred them to the Court; but on their application to the Attorney-General, they brought me his letter, advising me to write to you: That their petition was a matter of right, and that you may not molest these conscientious people, so long as they behave themselves in a manner becoming pious Christians, and in obedience to the laws, till the Court, when they intend to apply for licenses, and when the gentlemen who complain may make their objections and be heard. The act of toleration, (it being found by experience that persecuting dissenters increases their numbers) has given them a right to apply, in a proper manner, for licensed houses for the worship of God, ac-

cording to their consciences; and I persuade myself the gentlemen will quietly overlook their meetings till the Court. I am told they administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper near the manner we do, and differ in nothing from our church, but in that of baptism, and their renewing the ancient discipline; by which they have reformed some sinners and brought them to be truly penitent; nay, if a man of theirs is idle, and neglects to labour, and provide for his family as he ought, he incurs their censures, which have good effects. If this be their behaviour, it were to be wished we had some of it among us: but, at least, I hope all men may remain quiet till Court.

"I am, with great respects to the gentlemen, Sir, your humble servant, JOHN BLAIR.

Williamsburg, July 16, 1768."

When the letter came to the Attorney, he would have nothing to say in the affair. Waller and the others continued in jail forty-three days, and were then discharged without any conditions. While in prison, they constantly preached through the grates. The mob without used every exertion to prevent the people from hearing, but to little purpose. Many heard, indeed, to whom the word came in demonstration of the Spirit and with power.

After their discharge, which was a kind of triumph, Waller, Craig, and their compeers in the ministry, resumed their labours with redoubled vigour, gathering fortitude from their late sufferings, thanking God they were counted worthy to suffer for Christ and his gospel. Day and night, and, indeed, almost every day and night, they held meetings in their own and in the adjacent neighbourhoods. The spread of the gospel and of Baptist principles, was equal to all their exertions; insomuch, that in very few sections of Virginia did the Baptist cause appear more formidable to its enemies, and more consoling to its friends, than in Spottsylvania; and we may add, so it is to this day.

In Goochland, Middlesex, and other counties, William Webber, John Waller, James Greenwood, and others, were soon after persecuted and imprisoned. But the persecutors found that the imprisonment of the preachers tended rather to the furtherance of the gospel; for they preached regularly in their prison, crowds attended to hear, and their preaching seemed to have a double weight when coming from the jail; many viewed it with superstitious reverence, so that their enemies became desirous to be rid of them.

Great congregations of people attended the Baptist meetings, while very few went to the parish churches.

The zealots for the old order were greatly embarrassed. They insisted that their church was the oldest and best —that their meetings were the most learned—that the lower order only followed the Baptists—that they had disturbed their peace—and were wolves in sheep's clothing. To these arguments, Waller and the other preachers boldly and readily replied, that if they were wolves in sheep's clothing, and their opponents were true sheep, it was quite unaccountable that they were persecuted, and cast into prison : it is well known that wolves would destroy sheep, but never, until then, that sheep would prey upon wolves ; that their coming might, indeed, interrupt their peace ; but certainly if it did, it must be a false peace, bordering on destruction ; and to rouse them from this lethargy, was like waking a man whose house was burning over him ; that the effects of their coming was similar to those foretold by Christ, as arising from the propagation of his word, namely, "*that there should be five in one house, three against two, and two against three ;*" that if the higher ranks in society did not countenance them, it was no more than what befel their Master, and his inspired Apostles ; that rich men, in every generation, with some few exceptions, were enemies to a pure gospel ; but that God had declared, that he had chosen the poor of this world to be rich in faith ; that, it was true, most of their preachers were unlearned, yet that they had evidences they were called to the ministry by the will of God ; that this was the most essential qualification of a minister, the want of which, all the learning of all the schools could not supply.

The Baptist preachers would often retort their own inconsistencies upon them ; that while they professed to be Christians, they indulged themselves in the violation of most of the Christian precepts ; that their communion was often polluted, by the admission of known drunkards, gamesters, swearers, and revellers ; that even their clergy, learned as they were, had never learned the most essential doctrine of revelation, the indispensable necessity of the new birth ; that their public discourses were nothing more than moral addresses, such as a pagan philosopher, unassisted by the Bible, could have composed.

We have thus stated a few instances of the sufferings of God's ministers in those times ; time and space would fail to enumerate them all. They used to preach to the

people through the grates; to prevent which, some ill-disposed men would be at the expense of erecting a high wall round the prison; others would employ half drunken strolls to beat a drum round the prison, to prevent the people from hearing. Sometimes matches and pepper-pods were burnt at the prison door, and many such afflictions the dear disciples went through. About thirty preachers were honoured with a dungeon, and a few others beside. Some of them were imprisoned as often as four times, besides all the mobs and perils they went through. The dragon roared with hideous peals, but was not *red*—the beast appeared formidable, but was not *scarlet-coloured*. Virginia soil has never been stained with vital blood for conscience' sake.

From the beginning, the Baptists were unremitting in their exertions to obtain liberty of conscience. It was in making these attempts, that they were so fortunate as to interest in their behalf the celebrated Patrick Henry; being always the friend of liberty, he only needed to be informed of their oppression; without hesitation, he stepped forward to their relief. From that time, until the day of their complete emancipation from the shackles of tyranny, the Baptists found, in Patrick Henry, an unwavering friend; after some difficulty they obtained their object, and certain places were licensed accordingly. But to a people, prompted as the Baptists were, with unwearied zeal for the propagation of the gospel, a few licensed places in each county was but a small acquisition; they thirsted for liberty to preach the gospel to every creature.

In the mean time, every thing tended to favour their wishes; their persecution, so far from impeding, really promoted their cause; their preachers had now become numerous, and some of them were men of considerable talents. Many of the leading men favoured them, some from one motive, and some from another; their congregations were large, and when any of their men of talents preached, they were crowded. The patient manner in which they suffered persecution, raised their reputation for piety and goodness, in the estimation of a large majority of the people. Their numbers annually increased in a surprising degree. Every month, new places were found by the preachers, whereon to plant the Redeemer's standard. In these places, although but few might become Baptists, yet the majority would be favourable.

Many, who had expressed great hostility to them, upon forming a more close acquaintance with them, professed to be undeceived.

At this period the British yoke galled to the quick, and the Virginians, having the most tender necks, were the first to manifest uneasiness. Republican principles had gained much ground, and were fast advancing to superiority; the leading men on that side, viewed the established clergy and the established religion as inseparable appendages of monarchy, one of the pillars by which it was supported. The dissenters, at least the Baptists, were republicans from interest, as well as principle; it was known that their interest was great among the common people; and the common people, in every country, are, more or less, republicans. To resist British oppressions effectually, it was necessary to soothe the minds of the people, by every species of policy. The dissenters were too powerful to be slighted, and too watchful to be cheated by an ineffectual sacrifice. There had been a time, when they would have been satisfied to have paid their tithes, if they could have had liberty of conscience; but now the crisis was such, that nothing less than a total overthrow of all ecclesiastical distinctions, would satisfy their sanguine hopes. Having started the decaying edifice, every dissenter put to his shoulder, to push it into irretrievable ruin. The revolutionary party found that the sacrifice must be made, and they made it.

The struggle for an entire religious freedom was long and painful: And it was not until 1798, that the legislature passed the last Act by which all religious sects were put into a state of perfect equality as it respects the favours of government.

CHAP. XXIV.

HISTORY OF ASSOCIATIONS IN VIRGINIA.

AS we have entered largely into the general history of the Baptists in this State, we must be the more brief and comprehensive in that of the Associations which it contains.

In the year 1772, the time in which Morgan Edwards's MS. history of Virginia Baptists closes, there were but two Associations in the State, one of the Regulars and

one of the Separates. The former was called Ketockton, and contained 14 churches; and the latter Rapid-ann, or the General Association of Separates, and contained 19. In both Associations there were 33 churches, 32 ordained ministers, and 3,603 members.

In the year 1809, according to Semple's History, there were fifteen Associations, wholly in the State of Virginia, and four others, of which a part of the churches were in Virginia, and a part in a number of the adjacent States; and in all these Associations there were 294 churches, about 180 ordained ministers, who were stationed pastors of churches, besides a large number who were not settled in the capacity of pastors, and 31,052 members or communicants; which makes the increase of Baptist communicants in this State, for 37 years, 27,449, besides many thousands who have removed to Kentucky and other parts of the western country.

Of the fifteen Associations which are wholly in Virginia, six lie north of James-river, viz. Ketockton, Culpepper, Albemarle, Goshen, Dover, and Accomack; six, south of James-river, viz. Portsmouth, Middle District, Meherrin, Appomattox, Roanoke, and Strawberry; and three west of the Alleghany mountains, viz. New-river, Green-brier, and Union. Those four, a part of which only lie in Virginia, are Mayo, on the borders of Virginia, North-Carolina, and Tennessee; Holston on the borders of Virginia, and Tennessee; and Redstone, on the borders of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. The Redstone, Greenbrier, and Union Associations proceeded in part, and the last of them indirectly, from the Ketockton Association; the history of which may be found in the account of the Regular Baptists. The Accomack Association was formed of the churches which were dismissed for the purpose, from the Salisbury Association in Maryland; the Portsmouth was formed by the division of the Kehukee Association of North-Carolina; and the remaining 13 all originated from the Separates, and comprehend the main body of the Baptists in Virginia.

CHAP. XXV.

General Observations on the Progress and Circumstances of the Virginia Baptists, from the Abolition of the Established Church to the present Time.

THE war, though very propitious to the liberty of the Baptists, had an opposite effect upon the life of religion among them. As if persecution were more favourable to vital piety than unrestrained liberty, they seem to have abated in their zeal, upon being unshackled from their manacles. This may be ascribed to several causes. Both preachers and people were so much engrossed with anxious thoughts and schemes for effecting the revolution, as well as with alternate hopes and fears for the event, it was not probable that religion should not lose some portion of its influence upon the minds of professors thus engaged. Having lost some of their champions in Israel, they could not with the same boldness face their enemies. Perhaps we may add, that many did not rightly estimate the true source of liberty, nor ascribe its attainment to the proper arm. In consequence of which, God sent them liberty, and with it leanness of soul. This chill to their religious affections might have subsided with the war, or perhaps sooner, if there had not been subsequent occurrences, which tended to keep them down. The opening a free trade by peace, served as a powerful bait to entrap professors, who were in any great degree inclined to the pursuit of wealth. And nothing is more common, than for the increase of riches to produce a decrease of piety. Kentucky and the western country took off many of the preachers, who had once been exceedingly successful in the ministry. From whatever cause, certain it is, that they suffered a very wintry season. With some few exceptions, the declension was general throughout the State. The love of many waxed cold. Some of the watchmen fell, others stumbled, and many slumbered at their posts. Iniquity greatly abounded. Associations were but thinly attended, and the business badly conducted. The long and great declension induced many to fear that the times of refreshing would never come, but that God had wholly forsaken them.

But the set time to favour Zion at length arrived; and as the declension had been general, so also was the re-

vival which succeeded. This work, which was very powerful and extensive, begun on the banks of James-river, in 1785, and thence spread like fire among stubble in different directions, over almost the whole State ; and as it continued for several years, there were very few churches which were not visited with its salutary influence.

During the progress of this revival, scenes were exhibited, somewhat extraordinary. It was not unusual to have a large proportion of the congregation prostrate on the floor, and in some instances they lost the use of their limbs. No distinct articulation could be heard, unless from those immediately by. Screams, groans, shouts and hosannas, notes of grief and joy, all at the same time, were not unfrequently heard throughout their vast assemblies. At Associations and great meetings, where there were several ministers, many of them would exercise their gifts at the same time, in different parts of the congregation ; some in exhortation, some in praying for the distressed, and some in argument with opposers. At first, many of the preachers disapproved of these exercises, as being enthusiastick and extravagant. Others fanned them as fire from heaven. It is not unworthy of notice, that in those congregations, where preachers encouraged them to much extent, the work was more extensive, and greater numbers were added. It must also be admitted, that in many of those congregations, no little confusion and disorder arose, after the revival had subsided. Some have accounted for this by an old maxim ; *Where much good is done, much evil will also be done ; where God sows many good seeds, the enemy will sow many tares.* But certain it is, that many ministers, who laboured earnestly to get Christians into their churches, were afterwards much perplexed to get hypocrites out.

From this revival, great changes took place among the Baptists, some for the better, and others for the worse. Their preachers were become much more correct in their manner of preaching. A great many odd tones, disgusting whoops, and awkward gestures were disused. In their matter also, they had more of sound sense and strong reasoning. Their zeal was less mixed with enthusiasm, and their piety became more rational. They were much more numerous, and of course, in the eyes of the world more respectable. Besides, they were join-

ed by persons of much greater weight in civil society. Their congregations became more numerous than those of any other Christian sect; and in short, they might be considered, from this period, as taking the lead in matters of religion, in many places of the State. This could not but influence their manners and spirit more or less. Accordingly, a great deal of that simplicity and plainness, that rigid scropulosity about little matters, which so happily tends to keep us at a distance from greater follies, was laid aside. Their mode of preaching also was somewhat changed. At their first entrance into the State, though not very scrupulous as to their method and language, yet they were quite correct in their views upon all subjects of primary importance. No preachers ever dealt out to their hearers the nature of experimental religion more clearly and warmly. But after they had acquired a degree of respectability in the view of the world, they departed too much from this most profitable mode of preaching, and began to harp on opinions and disputable points. To dive deep into mysterious subjects, and to make conjectures respecting unrevealed points, looked more wise, and excited more applause, than to travel on in the old track. And this tampering with matters beyond their reach, to the neglect of plain and edifying subjects, is too common at present, with many of our preachers in this region, as well as elsewhere.

Although many of the churches in this State are very large, wealthy, and flourishing, yet but few of them afford their pastors a competent support, and but few of their pastors confine their labours statedly to one congregation. It is not uncommon for a preacher here to have the pastoral care of two, three, and sometimes four churches, at the same time: to which he preaches, and administers the Lord's Supper once in four weeks; and we are sorry to have it to say, that this minister, besides travelling an extensive circuit, to administer to so many flocks, is obliged frequently, and indeed more generally, to procure a considerable part of his living by his own exertions and care.

But if a preacher here does not exercise the pastoral care of but one church, instead of preaching every Lord's day in one place, he is at liberty to travel abroad, to visit other churches; and if he preaches and administers the communion statedly to his flock once a month, that is

all he or the people of his charge consider him bound to do. Some, however, do preach every Lord's day to the same congregation; but the cases, I believe, are not frequent. The reader must not suppose that the preachers are idle the intervening sabbaths, for they are a laborious set of men, travel much, and preach abundantly; and such is the situation of their churches, that this arrangement is not so objectionable here, as it would be in many places elsewhere. It is said, that this economical method of supplying many churches with a few ministers, and of having such long or *monthly weeks*, if we may so call them, originated with the rise of the Baptists in the country, when there were many churches suddenly raised up, and but few ministers to supply them. This same custom prevails in most of the churches throughout the back parts of the Carolinas and Georgia, and also in Kentucky and the western country.

The Baptists in this State seem to have had but little ambition in the erection of their houses for worship, as they are generally of an inferior kind. And while their brethren to the north and south of them, have the largest and most flourishing churches in many of the largest cities and towns, the Virginia Baptists seem, for the most part, to have cautiously avoided all populous places; and although there are a few churches in some of the principal towns, yet they do not generally appear to have much prosperity or reputation; and one reason for this may be, that the preachers in these churches are not, generally men of popular and commanding talents.

CHAP. XXVI.

NORTH-CAROLINA.

ACCORDING to Morgan Edwards' account, there were some individual Baptists in this State as early as 1695; but it appears that the first church which ever existed within its bounds, was gathered by one Paul Palmer, about the year 1727, at a place called Perquimans, on Chowan-river, towards the northeast corner of the State. Mr. Palmer is said to have been a native of Maryland, was baptized at Welsh tract, in Delaware, by Owen

Thomas, the pastor of the church in that place; was ordained in Connecticut; was some time in New-Jersey, and then in Maryland; he at last removed to North-Carolina, where he gathered the church above mentioned, with which he continued, not, however, without some difficulties, until his death. He appears to have been the instrument of doing some good, but was not so happy as to leave a good character behind him. Mr. John Comer, of Newport, Rhode-Island, maintained a correspondence with him for a number of years, and frequently makes mention of him in his MS. journal, in respectful terms.*

Not long after Palmer settled in North-Carolina, one Joseph Parker, who was probably one of his disciples, began to preach in the same region; and though Palmer died before, yet Parker lived and continued his ministry on the old plan, till after the formation and also the renovation of the Kehukee Association, which will soon be described.

About the year 1742, one William Sojourner, who is said to have been a most excellent man and useful minister, removed with many of his brethren from Burley, in Virginia, and settled on Kehukee creek, in the county of Halifax, about one hundred and twenty miles northwest of Newbern, and the same year planted the church in that place, which continues to the present day. This church has seen prosperous days, and has been a mother to many others, the number and names of which I am not able to give.

Most of the first Baptists in North-Carolina are said to have emigrated from the church of Burley, in Virginia; but by the labours of Palmer, Parker, and Sojourner, and some other preachers, who were raised up in the parts, so many were brought to embrace their sentiments, that they, by about the year 1752, had increased to 16 churches. These churches had an annual interview, or yearly meeting, in which they inspected and regulated the general concerns of their community. These people were all *General Baptists*, and those of them who emigrated from England, came out from that community there. And although some of their ministers

* I found one of Mr. Palmer's letters to Mr. Comer, dated 1729, among Mr. Backus's papers, which, with Mr. Comer's journal, have helped me to a number of dates and articles, which I could not find elsewhere.

were evangelical and pure, and the members regular and devout; yet, on the whole, it appears to have been the most negligent and the least spiritual community of Baptists, which has arisen on the American continent. For so careless and indefinite were they in their requisitions, that many of their communicants were baptized and admitted into their churches; and even some of their ministers were introduced into their sacred functions, without an experimental acquaintance with the gospel, or without being required to possess it. It does not appear that they extended the bounds of their communion to any but those of their own order; but so loose and indefinite were their terms in other respects, that all, who professed a general belief in the truths of the gospel, submitted to baptism, and religiously demeaned themselves, were admitted to it.

In this situation, this cluster of churches continued, until more orthodox principles were introduced, and a spirit of reformation began to prevail, which finally leavened nearly the whole body, and transformed it into an Association of Calvinistick, or, as they were then called, Regular Baptists.

The faults and errors of this people were probably exaggerated by some of their zealous reformers; but viewing matters in their most favourable light, and admitting as many of their preachers and brethren as we can, to have been worthy of their functions and professions; yet they, as a body, were deeply involved in error, and needed much the renovation which we are about to describe.

The introduction of Calvinistick sentiments amongst them, which had the happy effect of purifying the churches, took place about the year 1751, and was caused partly by the preaching of Robert Williams of the Welch-neck, in South-Carolina; partly by the conversation of a private brother, commonly called the Sley-maker, whose name was William Wallis; but chiefly by the labours of John Gano, who visited them in the summer of 1754, and of Benjamin Miller and Peter P. Vanhorn, who went amongst them some time in the year after. Mr. Gano was sent out by the Philadelphia Association, with general and indefinite instructions, to travel in the southern States, &c. He, on his return, represented the melancholy condition of this people to the Association, who appointed Messrs. Miller and Vanhorn for the special purpose of instructing and reforming them. Mr. Gano ap-

pears to have shaken the old foundation, and begun the preparation of the materials which Messrs. Miller and Vanhorn organized into regular churches. His visit is thus described by Mr. Edwards: "On his arrival, he sent to the ministers, requesting an interview with them, which they declined, and appointed a meeting among themselves, to consult what to do. Mr. Gano, hearing of it, went to their meeting, and addressed them in words to this effect, "I have desired a visit from you, which, as a brother and a stranger, I had a right to expect; but as ye have refused, I give up my claim, and am come to pay you a visit." With that, he ascended into the pulpit, and read for his text the following words, "*Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye?*" This text he managed in such a manner as to make some afraid of him, and others ashamed of their shyness. Many were convinced of errors, touching faith and conversion, and submitted to examination. One minister hearing this, (who stood well with himself) went to be examined, and intimated to his people, he should return triumphant. Mr. Gano heard him out, and then turned to his companion and said, "I profess, brother, this will not do: this man has yet the needful to seek." Upon which, the person examined, hastened home, and upon being asked how he came off? replied, "The Lord have mercy upon you, for this northern minister put a *mene tekel* upon me!"

By the labours of Mr. Gano, and also of Messrs. Miller and Vanhorn, a great work was effected among this people, which consisted not merely in the important business of reforming their creed and purifying their churches, but also in reviving the power of godliness amongst the erroneous and lukewarm professors, and in the conviction and conversion of many others. And what was left unfinished by them, was undertaken and carried on, with a very laudable zeal, by the ministers among themselves, some of whom were converted by their means, and most of whom caught, in a good degree, their spirit, and imitated their examples. Insomuch, that before the year 1765, all the ministers, (and they were now considerably numerous) except the two Parkers, Joseph and William, and a Mr. Winfield, and all the churches excepting those under their care, which were not more than two or three, had embraced the principles of the reformation. The reformed churches having thus prepared the way, in the year 1765, by a previous appoint-

ment, convened at Kehukee, and organized themselves into an associated body, to which they gave the name of the Kehukee Association; which, as soon as it was formed, was admitted to the fellowship and correspondence of the Charleston Association, with which some of the constituent churches had united after their renovation. Jonathan Thomas, John Thomas, John Moore, John Burgess, William Burgess, Charles Daniel, William Walker, John Meglamre, James Abbington, Thomas Pope, and Henry Abbot, were the principal, if not all the ministers belonging to this Association at the time of its constitution.

About this time, the Separate Baptists had become very numerous, and were rapidly increasing in the upper regions of North-Carolina, and the adjoining parts of Virginia, where they had established the flourishing Association of Sand-creek. The ministers of both these bodies, in their evangelical excursions, were brought to frequent interviews with each other; and, although they differed in some little matters, yet they united their zealous labours in the common cause of their Master, and an increasing fellowship for each other, produced an increasing desire to be more closely united. The Kehukee Association made the first advances towards the union, and, in 1772, sent two of their elders, viz. Meglamre and Thomas, as deputies to the Separate Association, for the purpose of making overtures to effect it. The deputies were kindly received; they delivered their message, the object of which was briefly discussed. The Separate Association, in return, deputed two of their ministers, viz. Elijah Craig and David Thompson, to wait on the Kehukee Association, respecting the union which they had proposed. The embarrassments attending the union seem to have lain mostly with the Separates, who stated the following objections against their brethren of the Regular order: 1st. That they were not sufficiently strict in receiving church members. 2d. That they were too superfluous in dress. And, 3d. That their principles their practices were at variance; for although they believed that faith in Christ Jesus was essential to baptism, yet they retained many members in their churches, who, although they had then experienced converting grace, yet acknowledged themselves to have been baptized in a state of unbelief, by the careless Arminian preachers.

This last objection was declared to be the main bar to a complete union; and it was the more effectual, as it had been a matter of considerable embarrassment to a great number of the Kehukee ministers, who had many thoughts of attempting a reformation. The discussion of this question occasioned much disturbance in the Association, and finally threw it into discord and division, and it was many years before they could come to an agreement among themselves, or to unite with the Separates.

In August, 1777, they held their first undisputed Association, at elder Bell's meeting-house, in Sussex county, Virginia. They found, on assembling, that their strength had very much increased.

The Kehukee Association continued to meet regularly, and to increase rapidly, until the year 1790. At their October session for that year, it was found that there were no less than sixty-one churches, having more than five thousand members. Several ineffectual attempts, previous to this, had been made to divide it, and the number of churches was now so large, that a division was almost indispensable. They accordingly agreed to divide by the State line, leaving forty-two churches in North-Carolina, and nineteen in Virginia. The Virginia churches met by their delegates for the first time, May 1791, at Portsmouth; and on that account their body took the name of the Virginia Portsmouth Association.

Only four years from the time that the Portsmouth Association was taken off, viz. in the year 1794, this mother body had again become so extensive, that another division was thought expedient, and was accordingly amicably effected; and Tar-river was fixed on as the dividing line. All the churches above this river, and between it and the State of Virginia, remained with the old establishment, while those to the south of it were dismissed to form the Neuse Association.

The Kehukee Association, by this last division, was reduced to twenty-six churches; from this time it travelled on, without any special occurrence, until about 1801, when it began to enjoy a refreshing season, and for a few years following, was blessed with a share in that remarkable revival, which prevailed most powerfully and extensively through North-Carolina and many other States; so that in the course of two years from the commencement of the revival, there were 1500 persons baptized in the churches belonging to this Association.

Neuse Association.

It has already been related, that this body originated by a division of the Kehukee Association, in 1794. It contained, at the time of its organization, 23 churches, which were situated on both sides of the Neuse-river, from which circumstance it received its name; and they extended from Tar-river nearly to the southern boundary of North Carolina. This community was much refreshed and enlarged by that glorious revival which prevailed in the Kehukee Association.

Cape Fear Association.

This Association is situated towards the south-east corner of the State. It took its name from the river on whose eastern branch the town of Wilmington is situated. It was formed in 1805, of churches which were dismissed from the Neuse Association.

Raleigh Association.

This body takes its name from the town which is now the seat of government, near to which the churches are situated. It was formed in 1805 of only four churches, which were dismissed from the Neuse Association. It has been a flourishing little body, and in 1812 had increased to ten churches and almost a thousand members. In 1812 there was a very happy revival within the bounds of this Association, when Elder Robert T. Daniel, one of their ministers, wrote me, that upwards of a hundred members had been added by baptism to the church which he serves, in a little more than a year.

Chowan Association.

This Association receives its name from a river which rises in Virginia and empties into the Albemarle sound. It is situated on the northern borders of the State and near its northeast corner. It began in 1806, when eighteen churches, containing upwards of eighteen hundred members, were dismissed from the Kehukee Association for the purpose of forming it. These churches were all on the east side of the Roanoke-river. Several hundreds have been added to the Chowan Association since

it was formed, and yet it is not now so large as it was at first. The reason is, that multitudes from this region have emigrated to the western and more southern States.

Flat-River Association.

This body was formed by a division of the Roanoke Association, in Virginia, in 1794. As a number of churches in that Association were situated in North-Carolina, they were all, by their request, dismissed at the time above mentioned, for the purpose of forming the one whose history we are now relating. I have not been able exactly to ascertain of how many churches it was at first composed, but the number was probably ten or twelve; nor have I learnt any thing of its proceedings, until the year 1806, when it was divided by a line running north and south, and the western division of churches united in forming the

Country-Line Association.

This body took its name from a creek on which the churches are situated, which runs in a northern direction, and empties into Dan-river, near the line between the two States of Virginia and North-Carolina.

These two small Associations lie on the northern side of North-Carolina, and the churches in the Country-Line are in the counties of Rockingham, Caswell, Person and Orange.

The churches in these Associations originated from the Separate Baptists, and some of the oldest of them were gathered by Samuel Harris, James Read, Thomas Mullins, and Dutton Lane.

Sandy-Creek Association.

It will be recollected, that when the great body of the Separate Baptists was divided, in the year 1770, that the Sandy-Creek Association became one of the three grand divisions; but it has not prospered so largely, nor branched out so extensively, as the other two. The only Association which has been formed from it, and that but in part, was the Holston, in the State of Tennessee. Towards the close of the year 1800, that astonishing work which had been prevailing a short time

in Kentucky and other parts, made a sudden and unexpected entrance among this people, and was attended with most of the new and unusual appearances, which in many places it assumed. This work was not confined to the Baptists, but prevailed, at the same time, amongst the Methodists and Presbyterians, both of which denominations were here considerably numerous.

Yadkin Association.

This Association was organized in 1790. The church in the Jersey settlements in Rowan county is the oldest in the Yadkin Association, and was gathered by Mr. Gano in 1758 three years after the Sandy-Creek church was established. Mr. Gano resided there about two years, when the church was broken up by the incursions of the Indians, and he returned to New-Jersey, from whence he had removed hither. But the church was re-gathered after the Indian war was over.

Mountain Association.

The name of this Association is sufficiently descriptive of its situation; for the churches of which it is composed lie mostly west of the Blue Ridge, and are scattered in the nooks and vallies of the stupendous pile of the Alleghany mountains.

French Broad Association.

This is a small body, situated mostly in the county of Buncombe, in a mountainous region in the western part of this State.

Six of the North Carolina Associations, viz. Chowan Country-Line, Flat-River, Kehukee, Raleigh, and Sandy-Creek, have lately formed a General Meeting of Correspondence, on a plan similar to that of Virginia.

There have been some very extensive revivals among the Baptists in this State, since these sketches were made out.

Our brethren in this State have also made some exertions in the Missionary cause, and have an establishment.

CHAP. XXVII.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

THERE are, at present, four Associations wholly in this State, viz. the Charleston, the Bethel, the Saluda, and the Edgefield; and two others, viz. the Broad-river and Savannah-river, which are partly in South-Carolina and partly in the adjoining States. The Broad-river is in the northwest corner of the State, and a few of the churches are in North-Carolina. The Savannah-river is composed of churches which are situated in the south-east parts of South-Carolina and the neighbouring parts of the State of Georgia.

The history of each of these bodies will be given in their proper order.

From the first settlement of the Baptists in this Province in 1683, there have always been a number of respectable characters of the society, but their numbers increased very slowly for a great number of years, insomuch that in 1751, when the Charleston Association was formed, there were but four churches, and these not very large, to compose it. Soon after this period, Baptist sentiments began more rapidly to prevail. A number of churches were, in a few years, formed from the old ones, or raised up on new ground, in their vicinities, and united in Association with them. About the year 1760, the Separate Baptists from North-Carolina began their evangelical exertions in the upper parts of the State, where their sentiments took a rapid spread, and a number of large churches were soon gathered. In 21 years after the formation of the Charleston Association, viz. in 1772, there were in South-Carolina, according to Morgan Edwards's account, who then visited the country, 20 churches including the Separates, in which were 16 ordained ministers, 21 exhorters or licenced preachers, and almost 1100 communicants. These 20 churches had erected for their use upwards of 40 meeting-houses, as some of them were large and consisted of a number of branches. There were, at the same time, in this State, three churches of the Tunker and one of the General Baptists; in all of which, however, there were but a little more than 100 communicants. But for 34 years subsequent to the last mentioned date, the Baptists increased in this State in a much greater proportion; for it ap-

pears by a statement furnished by Dr. Furman, of Charleston, in 1806, that there were then in South-Carolina, of the Calvinistick Associated Baptists, about 130 churches, in which were about 100 ministers, and 10,500 communicants.

The history of the Baptists in South-Carolina naturally divides itself into two branches; and in pursuing it, we shall, in the first place, relate the affairs of those who emigrated hither from other parts, in the early settlement of the province, who settled along the sea-coast, and in the lower parts of the State, and from whom have originated most of the churches in these regions. We shall, in the second place, take notice of those who were at first, and for a number of years, called *Separates*, who settled in the middle and upper parts of the country, from whom have sprung a major part of the Baptists now in the State.

Charleston. Of the early settlers of South-Carolina, a considerable proportion were Baptists. They came in separate colonies, about the year 1683, partly from the west of England, and partly from Piscataway in the District of Maine. Those from England, came with Lord Cardross and a Mr. Blake, whose wife and her mother, Lady Axtell, were Baptist members, and settled, some about Ashley and Cooper rivers, and others about the mouth of the river Edisto Those from the District of Maine were led hither by Rev. William Screven, who, with a considerable number of his brethren, fled from the persecuting rage of the New-England Pedobaptists, and settled on Cooper-river, at a place called Summerton,* at no great distance from the place where Charleston now stands.

Here this company were formed into a church by Mr. Screven, who became their pastor. The names of the constituents are said to have been the Screvens, the Atwells, the Bulleins, the Elliots, the Ravens, the Bakers, the Barkers, the Blakes, the Childs, the Caters, the Whitakers, the Bryants, the Butlers, the Chapmans, &c. It appears pretty evident, that the Baptists from Old and New England, arrived in South-Carolina about the same time; but it is suggested by Mr. Edwards, that those from Piscataway settled here first, and had formed the

* Summerton was probably the name of a plantation, as I am informed than there is no such place now in the region.

church before their brethren from England arrived,* and that the small body which had been formed, received considerable additions on their arrival.

Before the year 1693, most of the members had removed from Summerton towards the neck, on which Charleston is built, which made it necessary to remove the seat of the church to the town. They held their worship on their removal at the house of one William Chapman, in King-street, until they raised a temporary building in the same street, which they occupied but a short time. In 1699, they erected a brick meeting-house, on the same lot with the parsonage-house, in Church-street, which was demolished in 1808, having been some time in a ruinous condition. The building at present occupied by them, is a commodious brick edifice, 59 feet by 42, and was erected in 1746. But they are now building a house of very large dimensions in the same street with the old one.

It has already been stated that William Screven was the founder and first pastor of this ancient and respectable church. He was a native of England, where he was born about the year 1629. When he settled at Piscataway, cannot be ascertained. In Piscataway he married Bridget Cutts, by whom he had children, Samuel, Mercy, Sarah, Bridget, Elizabeth, Robert, Permenas, Joshua, William, Joseph, and Elisha. Little can be learnt of the history of this numerous family; but it is known that the posterity of this venerable progenitor, although mostly under other names, has been and continues to be respectable, and considerably numerous. The late Col. Thomas Screven, an influential man in the Baptist society in Charleston, and Rev. Charles O. Screven, of Sunbury, Georgia, are amongst the number. Mr. Screven, though not a classical, was a good English scholar, and was eminent for piety and usefulness. After his removal to South-Carolina, the Baptist church in Boston, of which he had been a member, being destitute, sent for him to be their pastor. His answer, dated June, 1707, contains this passage: "Our minister, who came from England, is dead, and I can by no means be spared. It is a great loss,

* Mr Edwards dates the beginning of this church in 1664. His accounts were collected from the traditions of ancient people, who must have made a mistake of about 20 years; since it is very evident from Backus's history, that Mr. Screven did not leave Piscataway until some time after the year 1680.

and a great disappointment; but the will of the Lord is done." Aug. 6, 1708, he wrote to them as follows: "Our society are for the most part in health, and I hope thriving in grace. We are 90 in all."

In the latter part of his life, Mr. Screven removed to Georgetown, about 60 miles to the north of Charleston, where he died in peace in 1713, having arrived to the good old age of 84 years. He is said to have been the original proprietor of the land, on which Georgetown is built.

After the death of its first pastor, the Charleston church underwent a number of changes, as to numbers and harmony. His successors in office were Messrs. Peart and Simmons.

Mr. Simmons published one piece, entitled, "Some Queries concerning the Operations of the Holy Spirit, answered." Under his ministry the church passed through a series of trials, occasioned by the schism and encroachments of the General Baptists, and by disputes among themselves; and towards the close of it, was reduced to the verge of extinction, there remaining but one man and two women, who were communicants. But when Mr. Whitefield first visited Charleston, there was a great revival under his ministry, and this church sharing largely in its salutary influences, soon received the addition of about a hundred members. Mr. Simmons died January 31, 1747, and was succeeded by Rev. Oliver Hart. His settlement in Charleston was an important event to the South-Carolina churches. His unexpected arrival, while the church was destitute of a supply, and immediately after the death of the excellent Mr. Chanler, who had occasionally officiated for them since Mr. Simmons's death, was believed to have been directed by a special providence in their favour. He undertook the pastoral office with much seriousness, and soon entered on an extensive field of usefulness. His ardent piety and active philanthrophy, his discriminating mind, and persuasive address, raised him high in the esteem of the publick, and gave him a distinguished claim to the affections of his brethren.

Mr. Hart having, for his safety, retired to New-Jersey at the beginning of the American war, this church was for many years destitute of a pastor. But in 1787, it had the felicity to settle among them Rev. Richard Furman, D. D. who yet continues their much-esteemed and affectionate pastor.

The Charleston church has now (1820) existed 137 years, and is among the largest in South-Carolina. It is remarkable for its hospitality to visiting brethren, and its abundant charities to those who are in necessitous circumstances.

Ashley River.

This was the second church which was formed in South-Carolina. From about the time the Baptists first settled in this vicinity, they had stood connected with the Charleston church, as a branch of that body. But on May 24, 1736, the members here, to the number of twenty-eight, were constituted into a distinct church by a special covenant, under the pastoral care of Rev. Isaac Chanler.

Ewhaw Church.

The Welsh Neck church, as to its constitution, is older than the Ewhaw; but as this originated from the Charleston church, we shall give its history first.

The foundation of the Ewhaw church was laid in the year 1683, when, it is said, that some Baptists from England, in company with those who settled at Ashley-river, and founded Charleston church, arrived here with the Lord Cardross. They were visited by Mr. Screven and the succeeding ministers of Charleston, until God raised up a minister among themselves, whose name was William Tilly. He died two years before the church was constituted, for this people remained upwards of sixty years a branch of the church in Charleston. The first minister they had after their constitution, was Rev. Francis Pelot, A. M. He was born at Norville, in Switzerland, March 11, 1720, of Presbyterian parents, where he received a good education. He arrived in South-Carolina, in 1734, and ten years after embraced the principles of the Baptists. Soon after the Ewhaw church was constituted, he was called to be its pastor, in which office he continued with much reputation, until his death, in 1774. Mr. Pelot was a very distinguished man, in his day, amongst the South-Carolina Baptists. He possessed an ample fortune, and a valuable library, and devoted much of his time to books. Mr. Pelot assisted in ordaining the late Drs. Samuel Stillman of Boston, and Hezekiah Smith of Haverhill,* and preached the sermons on the

* These ministers were both ordained in S. C. one at Charleston and the other at Pedee.

occasions. His successor was the eminent Rev. Joseph Cook.

The next in office at Ewhaw, was Rev. now Dr. Henry Holcombe, of Philadelphia. Dr. Holcombe became the pastor of this church in 1791, and served them about eight years, residing the first part of the time at Ewhaw, and the latter at Beaufort, where a branch of the church lived. In 1799, he removed to Savannah, and officiated as the pastor of the Baptist church in that city, about eleven years, and then removed to his present situation.

Rev. Joseph B. Cook, son of the late Joseph Cook, succeeded Dr. Holcombe in the pastoral care of the church, over which his venerable father formerly presided. Here he continued until 1804, when the Ewhaw church was divided, and the Beaufort church was formed from it, with the pastoral care of which Mr. Cook was immediately invested. Thus the Ewhaw church was again deprived of its pastor, by his removing to a promising station. Since then they have had for their pastors, Aaron Tison, William B. Johnson, and James Sweat. But who officiates for them now, I have not learnt.

Welsh-Neck.

This church was first called Pedee, from the circumstance of its being situated on the great Pedee river, 60 miles north of Georgetown; but when other branches were settled on the same river, it became necessary to give this a more special name, and accordingly the compound name of *Welsh-Neck* was selected, which is descriptive of the people who founded the church, and of its local and peninsulated situation. This church originated in the following manner: In the year 1737, 30 members of the Welsh-Tract church, which was then in the province of Pennsylvania, but now in the State of Delaware, arrived here.

James James, Esq. was the most distinguished of this company of emigrants, for he was the head of the party, and his son Philip became the pastor of the church. Of him I can learn no more, than that he died at Catfish. His son Philip, the first pastor of the Welsh-Neck church, was born near Pennepeck, Pennsylvania, in 1701: he was ordained over the church in 1743, by Messrs. Chanler and Simmons, and died in 1753

This venerable man passed through a very singular scene about three months before his death; the narrative is related in full by Mr. Edwards, but we shall be able to give only the substance of it here, which is as follows: He was greatly afflicted for the death of a favourite child, and bewailed his loss in the language of David, *O Abel, my son, my son, would to God I had died for thee, &c.* In the midst of his wailings he fell to the ground as if dead, and was taken up and put on the bed, where he continued for near an hour, without any signs of life. When he revived and saw the people about him weeping, he bid them desist, adding, "had you seen what I have seen, you would not be in trouble about the dear little one." His wife and the company urged him to tell what he had seen concerning the child. He was reluctant to it, but their importunity prevailed, and he went on, "The child now enjoys more happiness in one moment than compensates for all the miseries he endured through life, and the pangs of death also." He then related how he had been transported by a celestial conductor to the paradise of God, where he was chided for his excessive grief, and saw his child in the full stature of a man, in company with the angelick hosts, and uniting in their songs of praise. At length his conductor said to him, "*I am one of that company, and must join them.*" Having said this, the entranced spirit began to sink fast, and soon found itself united with the body. This account is preserved by the family, and is signed by four respectable witnesses. After this vision, the old man minded no worldly thing, but was full of heavenly joy, and attentive only to spiritual concerns.

This church has had in succession for pastors, John Brown, Joshua Edwards, Nicholas Bedgewood, Edmund Botsford, David Lilly, Frame Woods, Daniel White, and William Dosey, who still officiates with them to good acceptance.

The Welsh-Neck church is the oldest in this part of the State, and has been the mother of a number of others. Cashaway, now called Mount Pleasant, Cape Fear in North-Carolina, Lynch's Creek, Mars Bluff, and Cheraw Hill, and probably some others, originated from it. Some of these churches are now extinct. The late Dr. Smith, of Haverhill, Massachusetts, spent a year with the church which was then called Cashaway.

CHARLESTON ASSOCIATION.

Having related the history of these old churches, of which this Association was at first composed, we shall now go back to its organization, and give a history of its progress from its first formation to the present time.

Mr. Wood Furman, of Charleston, South-Carolina, son of Dr. Furman, lately published, in a very handsome style, a 12mo. vol. entitled, "A History of the Charleston Association," from which many of the foregoing articles have been selected, and from which the following narrative is transcribed.

Mr. Hart, then the pastor of the church in Charleston, had seen, in the Philadelphia Association, the happy consequences of union and stated intercourse among churches maintaining the same faith and order. To accomplish similar purposes, an union of the four churches before mentioned was contemplated and agreed on. Accordingly on the 21st of October, 1751, delegates from Ashley river and Welsh-Neck met those of Charleston, in the said city. The messengers from Ewhaw were prevented from attending. It was agreed that an annual meeting should thenceforward be holden on Saturday preceding the second Sabbath of November, to consist of the ministers and messengers of the several churches; that the two first days should be employed in publick worship, and a sermon introductory to business preached on the Monday following, at 10 o'clock.

The object of the union was declared to be the promotion of the Redeemer's kingdom, by the maintenance of love and fellowship, and by mutual consultations for the peace and welfare of the churches. The independency of the churches was asserted, and the powers of the Association restricted to a council of advice. It was agreed to meet again in Charleston, November, 1752. At that time the delegates from Ewhaw attended, and the proceedings of the first meeting were ratified. The instrument of union bears the following signatures; John Stephens, Oliver Hart, Francis Pelot, John Brown, Joshua Edwards, ministers; James Fowler, William Screven, Richard Bedon, Charles Barker, Benjamin Parminter, Thomas Harrison, Philip Douglas, and John Mikell, messengers.

The Association thus formed, held its meetings for a number of years at the place of its organization, and hence took the name of the "Charleston Association."

In 1755, the Association, taking into consideration the destitute condition of many places in the interior settlements of this and the neighbouring States recommended to the churches to make contributions for the support of a missionary to itinerate in those parts. Mr. Hart was authorised and requested, provided a sufficient sum should be raised, to procure, if possible, a suitable person for the purpose. With this view he visited Pennsylvania and New-Jersey in the following year, and prevailed with Rev. John Gano to undertake the service, who attended the annual meeting, and was cordially received. The Association requested Mr. Gano to visit the Yadkin settlement in North-Carolina first, and afterwards to bestow his labours wherever Providence should appear direct. He devoted himself to the work: it afforded ample scope for his distinguished piety, eloquence and fortitude; and his ministrations were crowned with remarkable success. Many embraced and professed the gospel. The following year he received from the Association a letter of thanks for his faithfulness and industry in the mission. At the same time, the expediency of raising a fund to furnish suitable candidates for the ministry with a competent share of learning, was taken into consideration; and it was recommended to the churches generally to collect money for the purpose. The members present engaged, in behalf of their constituents, to furnish one hundred and thirty-three pounds to begin the fund; and Messrs. Stephens, Hart, and Pelot were chosen trustees. In 1759, Mr. Evan Pugh was proposed by Mr. Gano as a candidate for the ministry. He was examined, approved, and put on a course of studies. Having gone through them, he preached before the Association in 1762 with acceptance, and was soon after ordained.

The general contribution from the churches was not so great as was wished. But a society instituted in Charleston in 1755, which was called the "Religious Society," and flourished many years, was highly useful in aiding the Association in its benevolent design. Several young men were furnished by it with the means of pursuing studies preparatory to the ministry. Of this number were Messrs. Samuel Stillman, and Edmund Botsford, both from the church in Charleston. The former was ordained there February 26, 1759, and in 1807 finished at Boston a long life, distinguished by fervent piety, shining talents, and eminent usefulness. The latter lately died at Georgetown in this State.

Several churches in North-Carolina having joined the Association in 1758, it was determined, for their accommodation, that an annual meeting of ministers, belonging to this body, should be holden at Pedee in the spring; the object of which, besides preaching, was to consider of the general concerns, and particularly of those in North-Carolina; their proceedings, however, subject to revision by the more general delegation at Charleston. In 1760, five other churches in North-Carolina, viz. Great Koharah, Fishing-creek, Tosniot, and two on Tar-river, joined the confederacy, but soon withdrew.

Several churches of the Separate Baptists were formed in the new settlements of South-Carolina about 1760. One of them situated on Broad-river, sent a letter by their minister, Philip Mulkey, to the Association, in 1762, stating several queries, which Mr. Hart was appointed to answer.

In 1772, a correspondence was begun with the Philadelphia Association, by means of the Rev. Morgan Edwards, one of their ministers, who was present.

From 1773, when the first account of additions, &c. was taken, till 1790, the following changes took place—nineteen new churches were added to the Association—two joined other Associations—and three became extinct. The whole number of churches being twenty-two. In this period there were baptized 980—received by letter 284—dismissed by letter 520—excommunicated 105—dead 213. Whole number 1904.

From 1790 till 1810, twenty new churches were added—seven were dismissed to the Savannah-river Association—two were excluded for not maintaining their representation—and two became extinct. The whole number of churches remaining, thirty-three. In this period there were baptized 2874—received by letter 660—dismissed 1615—excommunicated 458—restored 56—dead 525. Whole number of members 2907.

The following churches and Associations are situated in the middle regions of the State, and originated from those who were called Separate Baptists.

Bethel Association.

This body, at its constitution, consisted of sixteen churches. They immediately delegated James Fowler, one of their principal ministers, to the Charleston Asso-

ciation, who was cordially received; and who, pursuant to his instructions, so far adjusted the little matters of difference, which had heretofore prevented their union with the Separates, that a correspondence was opened, which has been maintained to the present time.

From this period the name of *Separate* began to be disused, and was soon entirely laid aside; so that the Baptists in South-Carolina, from whatever source they originated, have for many years past been united in their external order and doctrinal sentiments.

The Bethel Association has been a very flourishing body, and has had within its bounds a number of very extensive revivals. It also shared largely in that extraordinary work which prevailed in the southern and western, and some other States, from 1800 and onward.

In 1803, there were received by baptism in all the churches of which it was composed, 1411 persons, which made its total number, at that time, notwithstanding the Broad River and Saluda River Associations had been set off from it before, 3518.

Broad River Association.

In the year 1800, the bounds of the Bethel Association having become very extensive, fourteen churches, situated in the north-west corner of this State, and in the adjoining parts of North-Carolina, were dismissed, with permission to form an Association by themselves. They were organized shortly after, when the above mentioned name was given to it, with reference to the river on both sides of which the churches are situated. The Broad River rises in the mountains, and unites with the Saluda in forming the Congaree, which is the main branch of the Great Santee.

This Association experienced very great enlargements soon after it was formed. In the spring of 1802, the powerful work which prevailed at that time throughout this country, began to be experienced by the churches in this body, and continued more or less for three successive years, in which the Broad River Association received an addition by baptism of 1296 members, which increased the whole number to upwards of 2000.

Most of the churches in this Association are in the neighbourhood of the Blue Ridge, and none of them are far distant from the mountainous parts of the back country.

Saluda Association.

This also originated from the Bethel Association. The churches which compose this Association are mostly in the districts of Greenville, Abbyville, and Pendleton, on both sides of the Saluda River, from which it received its name.

Edgefield Association.

This is another flourishing establishment, from that fruitful mother of churches, the Bethel Association. It was formed in 1808, when it was called *Beulah;* but the next year its name was exchanged for that of the district in which most of the churches are situated, which joins the Savannah River, and is opposite Augusta in Georgia.

History of the General Baptists in South-Carolina, from their Commencement until they became extinct.

There was never but one society of this people in this State. They originated about 1733, when several members of the Charleston church withdrew from that ancient body, and embraced the sentiments of the General Baptists. William Elliot, jun. was the leader of this separation. He appears to have been a man of wealth and influence. Soon after these people had withdrawn, they sent to England for a minister, and obtained Rev. Robert Ingraham, for their first minister. He was a native of Lincolnshire, England, but came hither directly from Farnham, near London. He was pastor of the church but a short time, for he died in 1738.

Rev. Henry Haywood was his successor. He arrived hither from Farnham in 1739, and soon after was invested with the pastoral care of the church, in which he continued until his death, which happened in 1755. His character is that of a scholar, but an oddity in person and conduct. He published a defence of Dr. Whitby against Dr. Gill; also a catechism, which he dedicated to three ladies, but saw himself neglected by the chief one of them, when on her death-bed; for she then sent for Rev. Oliver Hart, to assist her in that serious situation. Mr. Hart waited on her, and moved that her own minister might be sent for; she replied, "Mr. Haywood is a good companion for the living, but he is not fit to die by, for he thinks but little of Jesus Christ."

Rev. Daniel Wheeler was the next in office here. He was a native of Calne, in Wiltshire, England; arrived in Charleston in 1757, and after serving the church about ten years, died in 1767, in the 61st year of his age. All that is said of him is, that he was esteemed a pious and honest man.

The fourth and last pastor of this church, was Rev. Caleb Evans, A. M. He was born in 1743, in the parish of Lanafenfowr, in the county of Brecknock, Wales; received his education at Aberdeen, in Scotlond; arrived in Charleston in 1768, and died in 1772. About the time of Mr. Evans' death this church consisted of but eight members; part of them resided at Stono, and the others in Charleston: it continued in a declining way for a few years after, and then became extinct.

From the preceding history it appears, that for more than a hundred years the Baptists have held a respectable standing in South-Carolina, and that they have increased with great rapidity within about twenty or thirty years past. This great increase has been mostly in the middle and upper regions of the State, which were formerly immoral and irreligious to a proverb. But the prevalence of religion has had a very pleasing effect in moralizing, and, indeed, in humanizing the manners of the people.

This reformation in manners, so much to the credit and happiness of the people in this country, must not be ascribed wholly to the exertions of the Baptists; for the Presbyterians and Methodists are entitled to a respectful share; and to the powerful and salutary grace of God belongs all the praise.

The great revival in this country, soon after the commencement of the present century, has often been referred to in the preceding narrative. We should be pleased to give a more particular account of it than we have hitherto done, or than we, for the want of materials, are able to do. The most we can say is, that between the years 1800 and 1803, there were most surprising movements of a religious nature on the minds of the people in South-Carolina; and notwithstanding the manifest enthusiasm of many, the great Shepherd of the sheep gathered into his fold a large and precious number of Adam's ruined family. Of these, between three and four thousand joined the churches belonging to the Bethel and Broad River Associations. Large numbers were, at the

same time, added to the Methodist and Presbyterian churches.

Camp meetings, during these refreshing seasons, were often held in the middle and upper regions of the State, which were promoted mostly by the Methodists and Presbyterians. Many of the Baptists, however, attended them, and united with their brethren of other denominations, so far as they could consistently with their principles. They also held meetings of a similar nature among themselves, so long as the necessity for them continued; and when that ceased, they returned to their usual places of worship.

Most of the first settlers of South-Carolina were members of the Church of England; Episcopacy of course became the established religion of the Province, and remained so until after the American War, when, by the State Constitution, all denominations were placed on a level, as it respects the favours of Government. During the Provincial government, dissenting ministers were not permitted to celebrate the rites of matrimony; large glebe lands were appropriated for the benefit of the clergy, which the society still hold, and the money to build their churches was drawn from the publick treasury.

These were some of the exclusive privileges which the civil government conferred on the Episcopal establishment. But it does not appear that the Baptists or any dissenters have ever been much molested in this government, either by corporal punishments, or those perplexing, provoking, and rapacious things, called in New-England, *ministerial taxes.*

Though the Baptists, as a denomination, have never suffered much persecution in a legal form, yet some individuals, and especially a number of their ministers, have suffered from the improper interference of unworthy magistrates and unauthorized and bigotted persons.

Morgan Edwards gives the following account of the arbitrary proceedings of a magistrate near the Cheraws on Pedee River, by the name of Alexander Gordon, who is said to have been a Presbyterian: "One Joseph Cates held a meeting in his neighbourhood. His worship presently fetched the aggressor *coram nobis*, and got three others to assist him to form a spiritual court. The preacher was then asked, "Who gave you authority to preach?" He replied, "The same that gave the apostle Paul authority." Upon which, his worship angrily said,

"He blasphemeth! What say you, gentlemen?" The gentlemen were of his mind, and the Baptist preacher was severely whipt. The thing gave great offence in the neighbourhood, insomuch that his worship found it requisite to propagate evil reports concerning the preacher's moral character, in order to justify the action; for persecutors always represent the persecuted as devils rather than men."

But these days of rancour and opposition are past. The Baptists are now a large, respectable, and indeed powerful body, and are more in danger of being affected to their disadvantage by prosperity than adversity. The communicants and adherents in South-Carolina are estimated by Dr. Furman at upwards of 70,000 souls, which is more than one-sixth of the population of the whole State.

The Education Fund belonging to the Charleston Association, with Mr. Roberts's Academy, and the funds which have been collected for defraying the expenses of the mission to the Catawba Indians, will be noticed under the respective heads of Literary and Missionary affairs.

CHAP. XXVIII.

GEORGIA.

THE first settlements in Georgia were made in 1733: Mr. Edwards informs us, that among the first settlers were some Baptists, particularly William Calvert of Lincolnshire, William Slack of Ireland, Thomas Walker of Northampton, and one Polhill. Calvert and Polhill were preachers, though not ordained. But the Baptist interest was very small in this State, for about forty years after its settlement. There were but four churches in the whole province when Mr. Edwards visited it, about 1772; these were not large, and most of them were newly formed. But a little before this period the zealous Separates began to emigrate hither: great success attended their labours; many churches were soon raised up; and from their introduction to the present time, the Baptist cause has had a gradual, and in many instances a rapid prevalence throughout most parts of the State; so that Georgia now contains more of our denomination than any of the Southern States, Virginia excepted.

Although the Baptists in Georgia made their first appearance in the low countries, yet they never had much success there, until within about twenty years past; but they have been numerous in the upper country for about forty years, which makes it proper that we should relate their history first.

The church on Kioka Creek is the oldest in Georgia; it belongs to the Georgia Association, and was gathered by that famous Baptist minister, Daniel Marshall.

The Kioka church has been an important establishment, having been the nursery of a number of useful ministers, and the mother of many churches. Samuel Newton, Abraham Marshall, Alexander Scott, Silas Mercer, Loveless Savage, Thomas Mercer, Samuel Cartlidge, John and James Saunders, John Stanford, and John Boyd, are among the ministerial sons, which she hath sent forth into the Lord's vineyard. The founder of this church was remarkable for encouraging his brethren in the exercise of the gifts with which they were endowed. It was a common saying with him, "I would that all the Lord's servants were prophets."

The aged Daniel Marshall died in 1784, and his son Abraham succeeded him in the pastoral office, in which he still continues. Mr. Marshall was born at Windsor, near the city of Hartford, in Connecticut, in 1750. He was only three years old, when his father, excited, as he supposed, by the influence of the Holy Spirit, literally left all, and went to preach to the Mohawk Indians. Here young Abraham, as he with much pleasantry informs his friends, received the rudiments of his education; for the first things he remembers, were smoking wigwams, and their tawny, untutored inhabitants. He remained with his pious parent in all his excursions, and was, when he settled in Georgia, about 21 years of age. He had began to preach a short time before. He has now been in the ministry more than forty years, is extensively known and much respected; and more than this, the maxims we have adopted will not permit us to say.

Georgia Association.

This being the oldest Association in the State, demands our first attention. It was organized in 1784, thirteen years after Daniel Marshall settled at Kioka.

This Association has abounded with ministers, who were either nurtured within its bounds, or received among them from other parts; but as so many have been dismissed to other Associations, its present number is not great; but among them are yet retained Abraham Marshall and Jesse Mercer. Something has been said of Mr. Marshall already. Jesse Mercer is a son of the late worthy Silas Mercer. He was born in Halifax county, North-Carolina, 1769. It was soon after his birth, that his father, as may be seen in his biography, got the church parson to dip two of his children in a barrel of water, which he had prepared for the purpose. When he became a believer, he was baptized again. He was ordained when he was about twenty years of age, and has now been in the ministry more than twenty years.

The Association of which we are speaking, increased very fast for a number of years, so that in 1790, it contained 34 churches and 2877 members.

Hephzibah Association.

In 1794, eighteen churches were dismissed from the Georgia Association, and by them this was formed. But little more can be said respecting it, than that it has moved on in harmony and order, and has experienced some refreshing seasons.

The churches which compose this Association are situated mostly in the counties of Washington, Burk, Warren, Laurens, Wilkinson, Jefferson, Bullock, Liberty, Tatnal, Effingham and Twiggs. They are on both sides of the Ogechee and Oconee rivers, and some of them are between the rivers Oconee and Oakmulgee, and extend down the country within 50 or 60 miles of the seacoast.

Sarepta Association.

In 1798, seven churches were dismissed from the Georgia Association, and in due form were organized under the name of the Sarepta Association. This Association has enjoyed great prosperity and enlargement, and received large additions in the time of the great revival about 1802.

The churches of this Association are situated along the south side of the Savannah river, and extend from the mouth of Broad-river in Georgia, which empties into the

Savannah about fifty miles above Augusta, to the highest settlements in the State in that direction. They also extend out into the country as far as the river Oconee. They are scattered over many counties, but most of them are in those of Elbert, Oglethorpe, Jackson, and Franklin. Two of them are over the Savannah in South-Carolina.

Oakmulgee Association.

A few years since, a large tract of land, high up in Georgia, was purchased of the Indians, and their claim to it forever extinguished. This tract is called by the Georgians, the *New Purchase*. Being a healthy and fertile country, it was settled with great rapidity, and the seat of government has been removed from Louisville on the Ogechee to Milledgeville, which has here been erected.

Many Baptist churches were in a short time gathered in the New Purchase. They united with the Georgia Association; but many of them were very remote from the centre of that body, which led them to think of forming an Association among themselves. Accordingly, in October, 1810, about twenty churches petitioned the mother body for a dismission, which was granted, and the Association was formed.

We shall now proceed to treat of our brethren in the low country, and also to give some account of the Savannah-river Association.

Savannah.—This city contains three Baptist churches, one of white people, and two of Africans. The church of white people was founded by its late pastor, Dr. Holcombe, now of Philadelphia. It was constituted in 1800, but was begun six years before that time, in the following manner. In 1794, Messrs. Jonathan Clark, George Morse, Thomas Polhill of Newington, and David Adams, one of the deacons of the church in Charleston, proposed the erection of a house of worship for the Baptists in this city. But as the Baptist members were few in number, and these generally poor, there appeared but little prospect of success. About this time, Mr. Rees from Wales, the same man who led out the company of Welsh people to the mountains in Pennsylvania, visited Savannah, and with much zeal and address encouraged the design of building the house, which had been pro-

posed. A plan for it was drawn up by Dr. Furman of Charleston; aid was solicited by the above-named gentlemen and others; and so great was their success, that in 1795, a house fifty feet by sixty was erected. It was at first merely inclosed. The next year it was rented to the Presbyterians, who had lately lost their house by fire. They occupied it three years. Such was the posture of the affairs of the Baptists in Savannah, in 1799, when Mr. Holcombe, who was the pastor of the church at Ewhaw, but lived at Beaufort, by the invitation of the pew-holders in their meeting-house, came to reside in the city. So much success attended his ministry, that in 1800 it was judged proper to organize a church in that place Not long after the church was formed, Mr. Holcombe was invested with the pastoral care of it, and continued in that office about eleven years. Under him, the church was built up to a flourishing and respectable body, the meeting-house was well finished, and to it were added a bell, clock, baptistery, and other appendages of ornament and convenience. But Dr. Holcombe having resided a long time in a debilitating climate, found it necessary to retire to a more healthy situation. He accordingly announced to the church his intention of removing, and wished them to look out for a successor. He retired to Mount Enon, about fifteen miles from Augusta, where he intended to spend the remainder of his days in retirement, and in preaching as he was able to the neighbouring churches. But by the affectionate importunity of the first church in Philadelphia, he consented to leave this retreat, and become its pastor. He was succeeded in the pastoral office by Rev. William B. Johnson. Their present pastor is Rev. James Sweat, formerly of Ewhaw.

Augusta.- Rev. William T. Brantley, late of Beaufort, is now settled in this town, and a very spacious house of worship is now building and a church will probably soon be formed.

Savannah-River Association.

This body was organized in Savannah in 1802. It was composed at first of only three churches, which were the two in Savannah and the one at Newington. But not long after, a number of churches belonging to the Charleston Association were dismissed from that body, and united with this. The new churches, which have

been raised up in this part of Georgia and the neighbouring parts of South-Carolina, have become members of this Association. It has progressed with harmony and prosperity, and has increased to almost thirty churches, and upwards of five thousand members.

The General Committee *of the* Georgia Baptists.

This Committee was formed in 1803. Its plan and operations are much like the General Committees in the other southern States. It was intended to be composed of representatives from all the Associations in the State. But this representation was never full, which is not to be much wondered at. In the first place, many are prejudiced against the establishment. And again, but few ministers can find time, after attending their respective Associations, to travel from one end to the other of their wide State to attend a Committee, which has never had, and cannot consistently find much business to do.

From the preceding sketches it appears, that great success has attended the exertions of the Baptists in Georgia. And no embarrassments, worth mentioning, have been thrown in their way by the civil power. The Church of England was the established religion of Georgia before the war. But dissenters of every denomination have, from first to last, enjoyed as much liberty as they could desire. I do not find that any Baptist was ever molested in a legal way for preaching the gospel, excepting Daniel Marshall, and he was soon discharged.

The great increase of the Baptists in Georgia has been occasioned partly by the emigration of Baptist professors from other parts; but mostly by the great and precious revivals of religion, which have at different times been experienced in almost every part of the State.

In the year 1793, Mr. Abraham Marshall wrote as follows to Dr. Rippon of London. "In 1787 there was a glorious revival: thousands attended on the word. The Baptists have great influence, and are the most numerous of any denomination in this State."

Some account of the share which Georgia had in the great revival in 1800 and onward, has already been given. Many thousands, during the progress of this revival, were added to the Baptist churches. Mr. Jesse Mercer, of the Georgia Association, in the course of two

years baptized about three hundred persons. In 1809, another revival began in the upper part of the State, in the bounds of the Georgia and Sarepta Associations, and many hundreds were hopefully born into the kingdom of God, and united with the churches of his saints.

In 1812, there was a very extensive revival in many different parts of the State. By the four Associations of Oakmulgee, Sarepta, Georgia, and Savannah, it appears that three thousand and eight hundred were added to them all, in the course of the year. To the Savannah were added about fifteen hundred, and to the Sarepta over twelve hundred and fifty.

CHAP. XXIX.

An Account of four Baptist Churches of Africans in Georgia, and of two in the West-Indies; together with some general Observations respecting the Circumstances of the African Slaves in the Southern and Western States.

A MYSTERIOUS Providence has permitted a large portion of the sable sons of Africa to be transported from their native country to this western world, and here to be reduced to a state of absolute and perpetual slavery; but He who can bring good out of evil, has overruled this calamity for their spiritual advantage; and thousands of these poor, enslaved, and benighted people, we have very satisfactory reason to believe, have found gospel liberty in the midst of their temporal bondage, and are preparing to reign forever in the kingdom of God.

There are multitudes of African communicants, in all the Baptist churches in the southern and western States; and in Georgia there are four churches, wholly composed of them. Some brief sketches of their history will now be given.

First Coloured Baptist Church in Savannah.

About the beginning of the American war, George Leile, sometimes called George Sharp, but more commonly known among his brethren and friends by the name of brother George, began to preach at Brampton

and Yamacraw, near the city of Savannah. He had been converted about two years before the war, by the preaching of a Baptist minister in Burke county, whose name was Matthew Moore; by this minister he was baptized, and by the church, of which he was pastor, he was approbated to preach. His labours were attended with a blessing among the people of his own colour on different plantations, and many of them were brought, by his means, to a saving acquaintance with the gospel. When the country was evacuated by the British, George, with many others, removed from Georgia to Kingston, in the island of Jamaica. Here his labours were attended with great success, and by him a large church was soon raised up; in giving the history of which, we shall relate more at large the character and labours of this worthy man. Previous to George's departure for Jamaica, he came up to the city of Savannah from Tybee-river, where departing vessels frequently lay ready for sea, and baptized Andrew Bryan and Hannah his wife, and two other black women, whose names were Kate and Hagar. These were the last labours of George Leile in this quarter. About nine months after his departure, Andrew began to exhort his black brethren and friends, and a few whites who assembled to hear him. He and his followers met with much opposition, and with much rough and cruel treatment. But by the kindness of some of his white friends and the mercy of God he succeeded in raising up the church in question in 1788, at which time he became its pastor, and continued in that office till his death in 1812. He was succeeded in the pastorship by his nephew, Andrew Marshall, who, like him, had to work out his time (as they call it,) that is, pay the price put upon him for the proceeds of his labour.

Second African Baptist Church in Savannah.

This church was formed in 1802, and now consists of upwards of three hundred members. This church has also a comfortable meeting-house in Savannah, 67 feet by 30. It is under the pastoral care of a very respectable black preacher, whose name is Henry Cunningham. He, like Andrew Bryan, was originally a slave, but is now free, having worked his time out.

The African Church on the Great Ogechee River, commonly called the Great Ogechee Coloured Church.

This body, like the last mentioned, originated from the African church in Savannah, under the care of Andrew Bryan; and was constituted in 1803. But it has not been so prosperous as the two others, and has diminished rather than increased.

African Church in Augusta.

This church appears to have been raised up by the labours of Jesse Peter, a black preacher of very respectable talents, and an amiable character. It was constituted in 1793, by elders Abraham Marshall and David Tinsley.

There are multitudes of black people in all the churches in the southern States; but I know of no church of the Baptist denomination which is wholly composed of them, except those whose history has been related.

Their white brethren generally do not encourage them to form churches by themselves. Such are their circumstances, their mode of life, and their want of knowledge to regulate church affairs, that it is altogether best, in the present state of things, that they should be connected with their white brethren, who are capable of guiding and instructing them.

JAMAICA.

In this island, a few years ago, were two Baptist churches of black people of considerable size and importance. They were raised up principally by the labours of George Leile, who was a native of Virginia, but who was converted under the ministry of Matthew Moore of Georgia, and who went to Jamaica at the close of the Revolutionary War.

Mr. Leile maintained a correspondence for some years with Dr. Rippon of London, and was much assisted in pecuniary concerns, by the Baptists in England.

In 1791, George Leile wrote to Dr. Rippon, that Brother Amos ——— had raised up a church at Providence, one of the Bahama Islands, of 300 members. This church, in 1812, had increased to 850.

We shall now close this chapter with some general observations on the condition of the converted negroes, and the slaves generally in the southern States. We shall not enter into the merits of slavery, nor dwell much upon the arguments which are brought for and against it. We design to go no father into the investigation of this unhappy policy, than to exhibit something of the circumstances of our African brethren, who are involved in it.

Slaves are the most numerous in Virginia, the two Carolinas, Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. There are some in a number of the other States ; but in these six, the great body of them is found, and Virginia alone contains about three hundred thousand, almost one-third of its whole population. And I know not but the proportion is as great in the five other States. In all the States under consideration there are multitudes of black people and creoles, who are not slaves. Some are the descendants of manumitted ancestors ; many who were born slaves have been liberated by benevolent and conscientious owners, and others have purchased their own freedom.

Multitudes of the inhabitants of these States have nothing to do with slavery ; some from principle, and others for the want of means to obtain them.

The Baptists are by no means uniform in their opinions of slavery. Many let it alone altogether ; some remonstrate against it in gentle terms ; others oppose it vehemently ; while far the greater part of them hold slaves, and justify themselves the best way they can.

In the six States we have named, there are about ninety thousand Baptist communicants ; and I conclude as many as forty thousand of this great number are negroes. Many of them it is true are free, but the greatest part of them are slaves. Thousands of them are owned by Baptist masters, and others by other people. The owners of slaves have generally been loaded with reproachful invectives for their practice. They have been all, without discrimination, charged with a want of both principle and feeling, with tyranny, cruelty, and oppression. Many must be blamed, but others ought rather to be pitied. Many of the best of masters have slaves, who are idle, thievish, stupid, and suspicious, and every way calculated to vex their feelings and mar all their enjoyments : and whatever may be said of the condition of

their slaves, all must allow that the masters' is more wretched than theirs. Many I have seen are heartily sick of having slaves about them, and think that the people at the northward, who are free from the incumbrance of this troublesome property, are far more happy than they.

In travelling to collect materials for this work, I spent about five months in the six States now under consideration. I set out with a determination to say nothing on the subject of slavery; but people would converse upon it. Some were very curious to learn the minds of the northern people respecting slavery; others wanted to know how we could do our work without negroes; and many were anxious to clear themselves of the unjust aspersions, which, in their opinions, had been cast upon them. There is a class of people, (though I am happy to say I do not find many in it who profess religion) that entrench themselves around with their laws, their customs, and their wealth, and spurn with indignity any scruple of the lawfulness of holding slaves. There is another class, who are so amazingly suspicious that you are about to censure them, that it seems really cruel to mention one word against the slave-holding policy. But by far the greater part of those brethren, who are concerned in slavery, converse upon the subject with much frankness, and the following are the principal reasons which they assign for their practice:

1st. They had no hand in bringing them into the country; but since they are brought, somebody must take care of them.

2d. They cost them much money, generally from three to five hundred dollars apiece, and sometimes more; if they set them free, all this must be sacrificed.

3d. Others observed they had inherited their slaves as a part of their patrimonial estate: they came to them without their seeking, and now they know no better way than to find them employment, and make them as comfortable as their circumstances would permit.

4th. Some mentioned that the Romans and other nations had slaves; that they were numerous at the introduction of Christianity; that neither Christ nor the Apostles, nor any of the New-Testament writers said any thing against it; that if it were contrary to the spirit of the gospel, it is strange that it is no where prohibited.

The fact is, most of the people under consideration, awoke into being surrounded with slaves, and now they must make the best they can of their situation.

But it is a well-known and pleasing fact, that the evils of slavery are yearly diminishing. Worldly policy has done something towards meliorating the condition of this numerous class of pitiful beings; but religion has done much more.

There are but few plantations in South-Carolina, which have not an opportunity of attending worship, either among themselves or at some publick place. Some masters, it is true, discourage all kinds of worship among their slaves; but many, who are not religious themselves, are yet willing that their slaves should attend to religion, and suffer them to go to places of worship, and permit exhorters to come on their plantations.

The existence of slavery in a country is calculated to awaken all the propensities of human nature, whether good or bad. Those who are so disposed, have abundant opportunities to play the tyrant, and to vent all their merciless and angry passions upon a set of poor, defenceless fellow beings; while those who are inclined to tenderness and compassion, may always find occasions for displaying these noble virtues. The following anecdotes will exemplify these remarks. A planter in the upper part of Georgia, went down to Charleston to purchase slaves. A cargo had just been landed—they were set up at auction—declared to be sound in wind and limb, and were struck off to the highest bidder. This planter purchased his complement, and the driver conducted them off. On the way to Augusta, one of the women accidentally saw the man who had been her husband in Africa; the dissevered pair immediately recognized each other, and their feelings at this unexpected meeting may be conceived by those, who are acquainted with conjugal affection. The owner of the husband was moved at the scene, and proposed either to sell or buy, that the poor creatures might live together on the same plantation. But the other, hard-hearted man! would do neither. They of course were soon parted; the woman was conducted up the country, and soon after died with grief.

I spent a night with a Baptist minister in Georgia, who had a plantation of about fifty slaves. By his request I took the lead in the devotion of the evening. A large company of negroes assembled in the hall. Their atten-

tion was solemn and devout, and their singing melodious. At the close of the exercises, the master exhorted his servants in a very affectionate manner to attend to what they had heard. Among them was a very aged man, to whom he spoke in the tenderest manner, and inquired respecting his spiritual enjoyments, and so on. His answers were broken, but sensible. After the negroes had retired, my worthy brother gave the following account of the pious old Jack, who was supposed to be at least a hundred years old. He had belonged to a neighbouring estate, which had been divided and run down, and the old worn-out servant was left without support. He went to another plantation among his kindred, but they treated him unkindly, and he concluded to go out into the woods and die. Mr. ——— one day returning from Savannah, found him wandering in the road: he inquired who he was? and having heard his melancholy tale, took him into his carriage, carried him home, and had kept him a number of years, without any reward, or ever expecting any.

This old African was an example of piety, and had a striking discernment in spiritual things. One day he said to his master, "Massa, me no like dat a man who pray here and talk to us lass night." "Why, Jack, why you no like him?" "O, me dont know, Massa, he pray and tell well enough; but me no get hold of him." Soon after, it was found out that the man was an impostor.

The following anecdote affords a cutting reproof to all whom it implicates. A poor ignorant negro came to a minister with a melancholy and dejected look, and desired him to come and baptize his master again. "Why, Sambo," replied the minister, "what is the matter of your master?" "O, my massa ben one good massa when you baptize afore; but now he forget all his religion, and scold, and vex, and whip poor negro."

But after all we can say of the kindness of masters and the comforts of slaves, it must be acknowledged that thousands of these wretched beings are sunk beneath an enormous load of oppressive misery. But the rich grace of God, which has within a few years past been so remarkably diffused in these States among both masters and slaves, I hope, and am inclined to believe, will be the salt of this part of the earth, and preserve it from those dreadful calamities, which many have feared. Were it not for this, I should really fear that oppressed humanity would one day collect its energies to a point, and revenge

itself in acts of terrible retaliation on the authors of its weighty woes.

Those, who may wish to gain further information of the religious negroes, may find many interesting accounts in Holcombe's Letters lately published, and in a little piece entitled Sambo and Toney, published not long since by Mr. Botsford.

CHAP. XXX.

TENNESSEE.

THIS State lies west of North-Carolina, to which it formerly belonged, and directly south of Kentucky, from which it is divided by an east and west line; it is naturally divided into two grand sections by the Cumberland Mountains, which are but thinly inhabited; the settlements of course are mostly in the east and west ends of the State. These two divisions are, for the sake of distinction, called, the one East, and the other West-Tennessee. Knoxville in East, and Nashville in West-Tennessee, are considered the capitals or principal towns in their respective divisions. They are 200 miles apart.

The Baptists were not, as in Kentucky, the first settlers in this State, nor have they been, as they are there, the most numerous denomination of Christians. The Presbyterians took the lead as a religious denomination here, and in 1788, according to Morse's Geography, when there were but ten Baptist churches in the country, and most of these very small, they had twenty-three large congregations. The Methodists also made an early beginning in this State, especially in its western part, where they have collected many societies, and they are probably now the most numerous of any one denomination in the State. The Presbyterians, however, are considerably numerous; and the Baptists have increased much within a few years, and are now increasing very fast, especially in West-Tennessee.

The first settlements in this State were made on the Holston river and its waters, in East-Tennessee, and in the south-east corner of the State of Virginia; and in these settlements the first Baptist churches were established. It is said there were two churches gathered in this part of Tennessee, which was then a dangerous

wilderness, some time before any of those arose, whose history we are now about to relate; but they were broken up and scattered, during the time of the Indian war. The circumstances under which they were gathered, I have not been able to learn. They were probably collected some time after the year 1765, and broken up in that Indian war which happened in 1774. One of these churches was on Clinch-River, a few of whose members returned after the war, and the church was re-constituted by the name of Glade Hollows, and now belongs to the Holston Association.

But the beginning of the first churches which have had a permanent standing was in the following manner: About the year 1780, William Murphy, James Keel, Thomas Murrell, Tidence Lane, Isaac Barton, Matthew Talbot, Joshua Kelly, and John Chastain, moved into what was called the Holston country, when it was in a wilderness state, and much exposed to the ravages and depredations of the Indians. These ministers were all Virginians, except Mr. Lane, who was from North-Carolina. They were accompanied by a considerable number of their brethren from the churches which they left, and were followed shortly after by Jonathan Mulky, William Reno, and some other ministers and brethren, and amongst the other emigrants there was a small body which went out in something like a church capacity. They removed from the old church at Sandy-Creek, in North-Carolina, which was planted by Shubael Stearns; and as a branch of the mother church, they emigrated to the wilderness, and settled on Boon's Creek. The church is now called Buffalo Ridge, and is under the pastoral care of Jonathan Mulky.

In 1781, one year after the settlement of most of the persons above mentioned, five or six churches having been established by the emigrants, they, for their mutual advantage and edification, concluded to meet together in conference twice in a year, and in 1786, erected their body into a distinct and independent Association by the name of

Holston Association.

This Association at this time consisted of the seven following churches, viz. Kendrick's Creek, Bent Creek, Beaver Creek, Greasy Cove, Cherokee, North Fork of Holston, and Lower French Broad. The ministers

belonging to it at this time, were Jonathan Mulky, Tidence Lane, Isaac Barton, James Keel, William Murphy, John Frost, and Alexander Chambers.

Tennessee Association.

This Association arose from the division of the Holston, in 1802. It did not, like the mother Association, adopt the Confession of Faith, but professed to hold its substance and spirit, with some modifications of some of the articles which it contains. Many of the churches in this body are in the neighbourhood of Knoxville, and most of them are on the Holston, Tennessee, and Clinch Rivers. It received its name from the river, which gives name to the State. This Association has already become considerably large, and it now extends over the Clinch River, to the Cumberland Mountain; and a few churches have lately been gathered in the nooks of vallies of the mountain.

This Association in 1809 contained thirty churches, fourteen ordained and two unordained preachers, and 1466 communicants. The churches are principally in the counties of Knox, Claiborne, Sevier, and Jefferson. The dispute about the laying-on-of-hands has been, at different times, agitated in this Association as well as in the Holston, and the subject is also left on the same ground. Robert Fristoe of this Association, a native of Stafford county, in Virginia, and nephew to the famous Virginia preachers of the name, usually officiates as the Moderator of its meetings, and is considered a principal minister in the body.

West-Tennessee.

The settlements in this part of the State were not commenced till a number of years after those in East-Tennessee had become large and flourishing. In the year 1780, a party of about forty families, invited by the richness of the Cumberland country, under the guidance and direction of Gen. James Robertson, passed through a wilderness of at least 300 miles to the French Lick, there founded the town of Nashville, on the Cumberland River, and commenced settlements on the luxuriant soil in its vicinity. But I have not learnt that there were any Baptists in this company. The first church of this denomina-

tion in West-Tennessee was gathered in 1786, on one of the branches of Red River, called Sulphur Fork, some considerable distance from Nashville. The founders of this church probably emigrated from North-Carolina or Virginia, about the year 1783, when a swarm of emigrants poured into this region from many different quarters. A considerable number of families of the Baptist persuasion had settled in many parts of the Cumberland country, but it was not till the year 1790, that Baptist churches began to be established, or the denomination to flourish. In the course of five or six years from this date, five churches were gathered; and in 1796 they were embodied into an association called Mero District, after the name of a civil department, which then comprehended all the counties in West-Tennessee. This Association has become the mother of two others, viz. the Red River, and Concord, which are both considerably large, and very respectable and flourishing establishments.

Cumberland Association.

This body contained fifteen churches at its beginning, and in 1806, three years after, so great was its prosperity, that it had increased to thirty-nine churches, which contained about 1900 members. Its bounds had now become so extensive, that a division was thought necessary, and the mountainous tract of land called the Red River Ridge, which lies between the Red and Cumberland Rivers, was agreed upon for a general line of division. The churches south and south-east of this ridge retained the name and constitution of the Cumberland Association, while those on the other side of it formed themselves into a new one, by the name of Red River. The Cumberland, from this division, travelled on with a prosperous course until 1809, when its boundaries had become so extensive, that it was thought expedient that it should divide again. By this division the mother Association was reduced to ten churches; but it has since greatly increased. In 1811 and 1812 there was a very extensive revival in the bounds of this Association. At it annual session in 1812, it appeared that in twelve months past, 1081 members had been added to its churches. This Association lies wholly to the west of Nashville. A number of its churches are not far from that town in the county of Davidson, the oldest county in West-

Tennessee ; and of the rest some are in the counties of Dickson, Montgomery, and Humphries.

Red River Association.

The manner in which this body originated has already been related. It contains some of the oldest churches in the country. The river which gave name to it has its rise in the State of Kentucky, but its course, which is generally south-west, is mostly in Tennessee ; it empties into the Cumberland River at Clarksville, about twenty-five miles below Nashville.

A good degree of prosperity has attended this Association from its beginning, and it has now become large. It lies on the line between Tennessee and Kentucky, and a part of its churches are in the latter State.

Concord Association.

This body was organized in 1810, of churches dismissed from the Cumberland Association. Between eight and nine hundred members were added to it in 1812. The churches in it lie on both sides of the Cumberland River, and extend eastward from Nashville about fifty miles, near to the western side of the Cumberland Mountains. I have not ascertained the names of all the counties in which they are situated. A number of them, however, are in those of Davidson, Sumner, Wilson, and Rutherford.

Elk River Association.

This is a new Association, which was formed in 1808, in a remote and newly settled region, on the south side of the State of Tennessee, and in the neighbourhood of the Tennessee river, about opposite the Muscle Shoals.

The Associations in West Tennessee have devised and adopted the following "Abstract of Principles," by which the reader will discover the doctrinal sentiments which prevail amongst them.

1st. We believe in one only true and living God, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost.—2d. We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New-Testament are the word of God, and the only rule of faith and practice.—3d. We believe in the doctrine of election,

and that God chose his people in Christ before the foundation of the world.—4th. We believe in the doctrine of original sin.—5th. We believe in man's impotency to recover himself from the fallen state he is in by nature, by his own free will and ability.—6th. We believe that sinners are justified in the sight of God, only by the imputed righteousness of Christ.—7th. We believe that God's elect shall be called, converted, regenerated, and sanctified by the Holy Spirit.—8th. We believe the saints shall persevere in grace, and never fall finally away. —9th. We believe that baptism and the Lord's supper are ordinances of Jesus Christ, and that true believers are the subjects; and we believe that the true mode of baptism is by immersion.—10th. We believe in the resurrection of the dead, and general judgment.—11th. We believe the punishment of the wicked and the joys of the righteous will be eternal.—12th. We believe that no ministers have a right to the administration of the ordinances, only such as are regularly baptized, called, and come under the imposition of hands by the presbytery, &c.

Most of these accounts of Tennessee were made out in 1811. Since that time great additions have been made to the churches in this State, particularly in West Tennessee. Our brethren in these parts have been favoured with a number of great and precious revivals. While the great work was going on in Kentucky, in 1800 and onward, this country was visited with a part of the copious shower of grace. We have seen that great numbers were added to the churches here in 1812. In this year, Mr. Whitsett, near Nashville, baptized about 350, and among the number were five students of Cumberland college, in that town.

CHAP. XXXI.

KENTUCKY.

THIS State lies west of Virginia, which it joins, and to which it formerly belonged. It was admitted into the Union as an independent State in 1792. Kentucky was well known to the Indian traders long before its settlement. James Macbride, with some others, explored it as early as 1754. Col. Daniel Boon visited it in 1769;

and four years after, he and his family, with five other families, who were joined by forty men from Powel's Valley, began the settlement of this fertile region. I do not learn that any of these first settlers were Baptists; but they soon after began to flock to this western wilderness.

The first settlers of Kentucky, and indeed of all the western States, were for a long time much harassed by the aboriginal proprietors of the soil, and against the united opposition of all the western Indians their settlements were made. The Indians were always jealous of the encroachments of the white people on the territories which the God of nature had given them; and in this case their resentment was the more enraged, because these settlements were made in violation of the treaty of Fort Stanwix, in 1768, which expressly stipulated that this tract of country should be reserved for the western nations to hunt upon, &c. With these provocations to revenge, the red men of the wilderness were most troublesome neighbours to the first adventurers into the western country. Many lost their lives either on their way hither, or after they had settled. Excited by a thirst for blood and the hope of plunder, and encouraged by the traders from Detroit and Niagara, these barbarous people continued almost without intermission to harass the frontier settlers, until Wayne's Treaty in 1795. From that period until lately, they have been peaceably disposed, and very few depredations have been committed.

A number of Baptist ministers visited Kentucky about 1779; and among them were John Taylor, who is yet living in it, and Lewis Lunsford, who died in Virginia, who was at that time called *The Wonderful Boy*. The object of these ministers, says Mr. Taylor, was more to look than to preach. They found a few of their brethren in the country; but they were in an uncomfortable state in every respect, being very cold as to their religious enjoyments, and much exposed to danger on every side. These ministers had a few meetings at the stations; they found the country destitute of almost every thing except grass for their horses, and meat from the woods, which was procured at the risk of their lives. They could do but little more than feast their eyes with the luxuriant soil, which the Indians had determined they should not cultivate. They, I believe, all returned to Virginia; but some of them afterwards went out and settled in the country.

About 1781, some Baptist preachers and many Baptist members began to settle in Kentucky. From that period the emigration became very rapid, so that by the year 1786, the following ministers, viz. Lewis Craig, Joseph Bledsoe, George S. Smith, Richard Cave, James Smith, James Rucker, Robert Elkin, John Taylor, William Taylor, John Tanner, John Bailey, Joseph Craig, Ambrose Dudley, and probably some others, had taken up their residence in different parts of the Kentucky woods, some on the north and others on the south side of the Kentucky river.

A flood of Baptist emigrants, mostly from Virginia, poured into this country at the close of the American war, and by them a considerable number of churches were soon established, and as early as 1785, three Associations were organized, which were called Elkhorn, Salem, and the Separate or South Kentucky Association.

The emigration from Virginia to this western region was a hazardous business, and was conducted in a somewhat singular manner. They had a vast tract of wilderness to go through, in which they were constantly exposed to the assaults of the Indians. Their safety consisted in travelling in as large companies as they could collect. There were, on the frontiers of the old settlements, a number of places of rendezvous, which were called stations. Here the first families which arrived would tarry until others came up, and after a sufficient number had collected, the whole would move off like a caravan through the wilderness. I have been informed, if I mistake not, that some of the companies amounted to three hundred men, women and children. In some instances the Baptist emigrants would form themselves into a church before they set out, and in that capacity they settled in Kentucky: while on the way, as one of their ministers pleasantly observes, they might, like the children of Israel, be styled the church in the wilderness. By this rapid emigration, Kentucky soon abounded with Baptists; and they have been from the first, and I conclude now are, the most numerous denomination in the State.

In 1790, according to Asplund's Register, there were in Kentucky forty-two churches, forty ordained and twenty-one unordained ministers, and a little more than three thousand members. Since that time, the number has greatly increased, so that there are now almost four hundred churches, twenty-one Associations, and about twenty-five thousand members.

Elkhorn Association.

This body, at its constitution, contained only the three churches of Tate's Creek, Clear Creek, and South Elkhorn; all of which were formed in 1785, the same year in which they associated. Some churches were gathered the same year, and a number shortly after, which united with this establishment; so that in seven years from its constitution, it had increased to twenty-three churches and 1700 members. The bounds of this Association were for a number of years very extensive, as it comprehended all the churches north of the Kentucky River, and some of those which were south of it; the church at Columbia, in the North-Western Territory, now the State of Ohio, and a church in the Cumberland settlements in the State of Tennessee. It has also contained from the first a number of very large and flourishing churches, which have sent forth many preachers, and many surrounding branches. The churches of South Elkhorn, Clear Creek, Bryan's Station, and the Great Crossing, are among those which have been the most distinguished for numbers and prosperity. During the great revival, these four churches together, received in one year the addition of 1378 members. This Association has, at different times, comprehended a number of laborious and successful ministers. A number of the preachers who emigrated from Virginia were men of the above description. And in 1788, when there were not more than twenty churches in the State, and but twelve in the Elkhorn Association, Mr. John Gano, moved from the city of New-York, and became the pastor of the Town Fork church, in the neighbourhood of Lexington, belonging to this body. Possessed of these advantages, this Association was much resorted to in difficult cases for counsel and assistance. Under these prosperous circumstances, it continued to progress with great harmony and order for about twenty years, receiving yearly additions of churches gathered within its extensive boundaries. In the happy days of the great revival, many of the churches in this body experienced refreshing seasons of an uncommon nature, and shared largely in that powerful work, which prevailed in such a rapid and astonishing manner in different parts of the State. At its annual meeting in 1801, it received the addition of 3011 members. In 1802, twelve churches

more were added, which made its whole number of members 5310. But for a number of years from this period, this body experienced a succession of trials of different kinds. A number of its members embraced the Arian system, which gave them much trouble for some years. After this a controversy respecting slavery, or rather the preaching of the doctrine of the emancipation of these unhappy beings, occasioned much perplexity and difficulty among them. After this a personal difficulty among some of its members, caused a division of the body. But it has since recovered from these shocks, and is now large and flourishing.

Bracken Association.

This body was organized in 1798. Most of the churches, of which it was at first composed, were dismissed from the Elkhorn Association. The church at Washington was constituted in 1785. It is not only the largest and the oldest in this Association, but is also one of the oldest in Kentucky. It was for some time under the care of Mr. William Wood, who lost his fortune and character by land speculation. It was principally by the solicitation of Mr. Wood, and by his encouraging proposals of worldly advantage, that Mr. John Gano was influenced to leave the city of New-York, and remove to the wilds of Kentucky. This Association was small at its beginning, and has never had any great increase; and in 1805, its harmony suffered a temporary interruption, by the dispute which then prevailed in many parts of Kentucky respecting the emancipation of slaves. This controversy issued in the final separation of a number of ministers and churches from the Association, who united with the emancipating party. The churches are in the counties of Mason, Bracken, and Fleming, in the north-east part of the State.

Northbend Association.

This Association is also on the north side of this State, to the west and south-west of the Bracken. It was formed, in 1802, of churches which were mostly dismissed for the purpose from the Elkhorn Association, and it received its name from that of a distinguished place in the Ohio River, about twenty miles below the town of Cin-

cinnati. The churches are in the counties of Campbell, Pendleton, and Boone, along the Licking and Ohio Rivers. The first beginning of that powerful and extensive work, which has been generally denominated the *Great Revival*, began in 1799, in what are now the bounds of this Association, and in 1810 and 1811, a refreshing season was again granted to some of the churches in this connexion, and to the one at Bulletsburg 130 were added in the course of a few months.

Separate, or South-Kentucky Association.

This name was given to an Association, which was formed in 1785, on the south side of Kentucky River, and which remained on its first foundation about sixteen years. Robert Elkin, Joseph Bledsoe, and James Smith, were some of the principal instruments of gathering the churches of which it was composed. The preachers as well as the first members, emigrated principally from Virginia, and were amongst the earliest Baptist adventurers to the attracting wilderness of Kentucky. The Baptists in Virginia, at the time they began to send forth such populous colonies of their brethren to the western country, were divided into Regulars and Separates, although the Separates were much the most numerous. The Regulars were professedly and some of them very highly Calvinistick; but the Separates were far from being unanimous in their doctrinal sentiments. A majority of them, however, were Calvinists, and of the rest a part were much inclined to the Arminian side of the controversy; and some of the most distinguished among them, in opposing the high strains of Calvinism, which were incessantly and in many instances dogmatically sounded by their orthodox brethren, had gone nearly the full length of the doctrine of Arminius. Others, with different modifications of the objectionable articles of both systems, were endeavouring to pursue a middle course. Such was the state of the Virginia Baptists, with regard to doctrine, at the period under consideration, and some of all these different classes were amongst the early emigrants to the fertile regions of the west; but a majority of them were Separates in their native State. But the same people who had travelled together before their removal, so far at least as it respected their associational connexion, pursued a different course when

settled in Kentucky. The Calvinistick Separates united with the few Regular Baptists amongst them, and established the Elkhorn Association, which, at its commencement, adopted the Philadelphia confession of faith; while those, who inclined to the Arminian system, as well as those who adopted some of the Calvinistick creed in a qualified sense, united with the Association whose history we now have under consideration.

Thus the names of Regular and Separate were transported beyond the mountains, and two separate interests were established in the neighbourhood of each other.

This Association, like the rest in the country, was small in its beginning, but its course was generally prosperous, and no special event occurred until 1789, four years from its commencement, when there was an unsuccessful attempt to abolish the names of Regular and Separate, and effect an union and correspondence between this and the Elkhorn Association. This measure was attempted in consequence of recommendations of the United Baptists in Virginia, whose advice the Kentucky brethren were generally inclined to receive, and whose examples they generally imitated. The Regulars and Separates in North and South Carolina had united before, and in 1787, a happy reconciliation was effected between these two parties in Virginia, both of which had at that time become very numerous. And having found that a reconciliation was practicable and pleasant, the United Baptists in Virginia sent letters to the Elkhorn and Separate Associations, informing them of the successful steps they had taken, and recommending the same to them, with earnest desires that their endeavours might prove successful. But the set time for this desirable event was not yet come. The union was ardently desired by many individuals of both parties, and the bodies at large appeared favourably disposed towards the attempt; but they knew not by what means to accomplish it, nor could they agree on the terms on which they should unite. The Separates were afraid of being bound and hampered by Articles and Confessions, and the Regulars were unwilling to unite with them, without something of the kind. A general convention of delegates met on the business, and overtures were made on both sides; but both parties being too tenacious of their favourite maxims to make sufficient abatements, their endeavours at that time proved unsuccessful.

A similar attempt was made in 1793, which, like the other, terminated without accomplishing the desirable object. In this year, five churches being dissatisfied with the Separate Association, respecting their proceedings in this affair, and also in some other matters, withdrew, and formed the Tate's Creek Association.

But in the time of the great revival, the out-pourings of the Divine Spirit, and its softening influence on the minds of the saints, prepared the way for that reconciliation and union, which all their weighty arguments and assiduous endeavours had not been able to accomplish. This astonishing work, in the year 1800 and following, prevailed most powerfully amongst the Separates as well as the Regulars. The churches and members were now much intermixed. All were visited and refreshed by the copious and abundant rain of righteousness which was poured upon the land; and, regardless of names, they unitedly engaged in enjoying and forwarding the precious and powerful work. By this means, those little party asperities, which had unhappily prevailed, were much mollified and diminished; their cold and indifferent charity for each other was inflamed; and with most of them their notions of doctrine were found to be not so different as they had supposed. An union was now proposed in earnest, and soon effected with ease. Both Associations had become large, containing together between seven and eight thousand members. Committees were appointed by both bodies to confer on the subject of an union, who, after mature deliberation, effected the long desired object.

The year after this event, the Separate Association agreed to divide, and the Kentucky River was fixed upon as the line of division. The churches to the north of this river took the name of

THE NORTH DISTRICT ASSOCIATION

Which was formed in 1802, and has continued a respectable and flourishing body.

THE SOUTH DISTRICT ASSOCIATION

Has experienced great trials and changes, although it has now settled down in harmony and peace. From this Association I conclude originated the one called

SOUTH UNION

Which is not in fellowship with the others, but is similar to those who in New-England are called Free Will Baptists.

TATE'S CREEK ASSOCIATION.

It has already been observed that this Association originated in 1793, when five churches withdrew from the old Separate party, and embodied by themselves. They united without any definite Articles of Faith, but in general assented to those of the Elkhorn Association. This Association received its name from that of a small water-course which empties into Kentucky River from the south. The most remarkable circumstance in the history of this body is, that in the year 1801, it received by baptism, 1148 members.

SALEM ASSOCIATION.

This Association was formed of four churches in 1785. The first settlers in this region were from Virginia; but they were soon joined by a considerable company from the Redstone country, in the back part of Pennsylvania. Among this company was that worthy minister, William Taylor, whose praise is in all the churches in this quarter. This part of Kentucky settled slowly for a number of years. The first settlers were often molested by the Indians, and Elder John Gerrard and a number of his brethren fell victims to their rage. The Salem Association was formed on Cox's Creek, a small distance below the Salt River, about fifty miles south of Frankfort, and not far from the place where Bairdstown now stands. This Association in the course of three years received the addition of upwards of two thousand members, and became so large that it was necessary to divide it.

This Association, at its beginning, adopted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith, and for a few years corresponded by letter with that body, as it did also with the Charleston Association in South-Carolina, and the Ketockton in Virginia. The churches of which it was composed were for a number of years principally in the county of Nelson; but by the subdivisions of that county, and the enlargement of the Association, they are now in the counties of Hardin, Brackenridge, Washington, Bullet, and Ohio.

LONG RUN ASSOCIATION.

The remarkable increase of the Salem Association has been mentioned. In the progress of that great work by which it was so much enlarged, a number of churches were gathered north of the Salt River; and when its division was proposed, that river was fixed upon as the dividing line. All the churches north of it were dismissed to form a new Association, which was organized in 1803, and was called Long Run, from a small water-course near to which its first session was held. This Association has experienced some refreshing seasons since it was formed, particularly in 1809 and 1810. It is now a large and very respectable body, and is situated mostly between the Salt and Kentucky Rivers, and extends westward as far as the Ohio River.

GREEN RIVER ASSOCIATION.

The terms Green River Settlements, and Green River Country, are generally applied by the people in Kentucky to all that part of the State which lies south of the Green River. The settlements here were begun about 1793, when the whole territory was comprehended in the county of Logan; but as early as 1809, it was divided into fourteen counties. What divisions have taken place since, I have not learnt.

The Association, whose history we are about to relate, was formed in 1800, and contained at first nine churches, eight ministers, and about 350 members. This was about the beginning of the great revival, which had already extended to this region; and so rapidly did it prevail here, that this body at its next session contained upwards of a thousand members, and in 1804 it had increased to thirty-eight churches, which embraced 1876 communicants.

RUSSEL'S CREEK ASSOCIATION

Was formed by a mutual division of the Green River in 1804.

STOCKTON'S VALLEY ASSOCIATION.

This body was also formed from the Green River Association in 1804, for in that year the original body was divided into three.

UNION ASSOCIATION.

This was also formed from the Green River Association in 1806.

EMANCIPATING SOCIETY.

This society is composed of ministers and churches, who have separated from their former connexion on account of slavery, and who differ in nothing except this article from the main body of the Calvinistick Baptists. They denominate themselves "*Friends to Humanity*;" but they are generally known by the name of "*Emancipators*," which name they are by no means unwilling to receive.

The people whose history we now have in view, have taken a decided stand against slavery, in every branch of it, both in principle and practice, as being a sinful and abominable system, fraught with peculiar evils and miseries, which every good man ought to abandon and bear his testimony against. These are, in substance, their sentiments respecting slavery; and their desires and endeavours are, to effect, as soon as it can be done, and in the most prudent, and advantageous manner both to the slaves and their owners, the general and complete emancipation of this numerous race of enslaved, ignorant, and degraded beings, who are now, by the laws and customs of the land, exposed to hereditary and perpetual bondage. And with sentiments so noble and humane, one would think they must certainly meet the approbation of every benevolent man. But truth may be unskilfully defended, and the noblest sentiments may become suspicious, by the unseasonable and intemperate zeal with which they are propagated.

To declaim against slavery and slave-holders, in the hearing of a multitude of ignorant negroes, who will pervert the most proper reasonings to improper purposes, is certainly an imprudent conduct. Of this, the Emancipators were continually accused, and not without some grounds; and the perversion of their discourses by the negroes was laid to their charge as a peculiar evil. It is altogether probable that in this thing the Emancipators were much to blame. Some of them, however, ought to be excused from these charges. They have not dwelt upon slavery in their public discourses, but their princi-

pal object has been to devise plans in a prudent way for the execution of their noble purposes. The advocates for slavery oppose the Emancipators with such arguments as these :—What can a few individuals do in this business? Government has sanctioned the holding of slaves; and unless they interpose their influence, nothing effectual can be done towards setting them free. This may be true; but "what measure of great public utility was ever executed by church or State, which was not first proposed by individuals? which was not first resisted by the great body, and perhaps defeated for a time?

The zeal of the Emancipators has in some measure abated, and of course they are less opposed; and it is hardly probable that any lasting effects will be produced by their means. Their leading maxims are approved of by many who have not united with them, but who still hold slaves with many scruples respecting its propriety. But there is such a strong current against the emancipation of slaves, and custom, covetousness, indolence, and ambition, find so many arguments in favour of slavery, that there seems but little prospect, that any material change will at present be effected, in the condition of this numerous race of enslaved and degraded beings.

From the preceding accounts, we see that the Baptists have become numerous in Kentucky. The Lord has truly done great things for this State; revivals have followed each other in quick succession, and many thousands have hopefully been born into the kingdom of God. The Baptist churches in Kentucky have, in many cases, been built up, and in others greatly enlarged by emigrants from other parts. They have also been greatly diminished, by multitudes removing to remoter regions. As religion is left wholly free from civil control, our brethren in this State have met with no difficulties, except what have arisen from among themselves, and these, we are sorry to say, have been considerably numerous. The churches were made up of people from different parts; their notions of gospel doctrine were essentially alike, but in smaller matters they could not always agree. The Kentuckians, whether saints or sinners, are rather inclined to a fretful impatience and undue resentment of opposition, in matters of no great moment. From this spirit have proceeded painful disputes about trifling concerns. Many of the ministers, who settled in this country from other parts, had acquired con-

siderable fame before their removal; and it is painful to relate, that in some cases they have discovered a censurable ambition for applause and pre-eminence. But notwithstanding these things, there is in Kentucky a very large body of our brethren, who travel together in harmony and love, and who adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour.

The churches do but little for their preachers; very few receive to the amount of a hundred dollars a year for their ministerial services; but few of them however are very poor. They have from necessity found the means of supporting themselves. Many of those who settled early in the country have become wealthy.

Some Account of the great Revival in Kentucky and other Parts.

As this peculiar work prevailed to a greater extent in Kentucky than elsewhere, it seems proper under this head to give some account of it.

From 1799 to 1803, there were in most parts of the United States, remarkable out-pourings of the Divine Spirit, among different denominations; multitudes became the subjects of religious concern, and were made to rejoice in the salvation of God. The revival among the Baptists in the southern and western States, has already been frequently referred to, and accounts of the astonishing additions to their churches have been given. This great revival in Kentucky began in Boone county on the Ohio River, and in its progress extended up the Ohio, Licking, and Kentucky Rivers, branching out into the settlements adjoining them. It spread fast in different directions, and in a short time almost every part of the State was affected by its influence. It was computed that about ten thousand were baptized and added to the Baptist churches in the course of two or three years.

This great work progressed among the Baptists in a much more regular manner than people abroad have generally supposed. They were indeed zealously affected, and much engaged. Many of their ministers baptized in a number of neighbouring churches from two to four hundred each. And two of them baptized about five hundred each in the course of the work. But throughout the whole, they preserved a good degree of decorum and order. Those camp-meetings, those great

parades, and sacramental seasons, those extraordinary exercises of falling down, rolling, shouting, jerking, dancing, barking, &c. were but little known among the Baptists in Kentucky, nor encouraged by them. They, it is true, prevailed among some of them in the Green River country; but generally speaking, they were among the Presbyterians and Methodists, and in the end by a seceding party from them both, which denominated themselves Christians, but which were generally distinguished by their opposers by the name of New-Lights and Schismatics. These strange expressions of zeal, which have made so much noise abroad, came in at the close of the revival, and were, in the judgment of many, the chaff of the work. There was a precious ingathering of souls among the Presbyterians and Methodists, at which they rejoiced; but when the work arose to an enthusiastick height, many different opinions were expressed respecting it. The Methodists had no scruples of its being genuine; but among the Presbyterians some doubted—some opposed—but a considerable number overleaped all the bounds of formality, fanned the flame as fire from heaven, bid up camp-meetings, and sacramental seasons, and finally run religious frenzy into its wildest shapes. Soon a number of these ministers separated from the rest, formed a new Presbytery, called the Springfield, upon New-Light principles, soon dissolved that, and five or six of them in a few years became Shaking Quakers.

CHAP. XXXII.

Ohio and the other Western States and Territories.

OHIO has been pronounced the most delightful of any of the Western States. Its fame has travelled far, and adventurers from New-England, from Georgia, the Carolinas, and all the other States, and indeed from many parts of Europe, have populated its fertile plains with an astonishing and almost incredible rapidity. In 1790, the number of white inhabitants, French and English, was estimated at 3,500, but by the census of 1810, they had increased to 230,760. The holding of slaves has never been permitted in Ohio, and many of the Eman-

cipators from the neighbouring States, where they abound, have had this circumstance particularly in view in fixing on this State as a place of settlement. The Legislature has guarded against the introduction of slaves, and even the residence of black people in this retreat of freedom, by a strong and rigorous prohibition. And many of the leading members of the Baptist churches here, have taken a determined stand against every article of that policy, which subjects to degrading and perpetual servitude so many of the unhappy sons of Africa. This favourite maxim the Ohio brethren have often pushed, to an enthusiastic extreme, and in many instances have doubtless been too uncharitable towards their brethren who have been surrounded by slaves from their infancy, who have been nurtured by the sweat of their wretched brows, and who have inherited them from their fathers, as a principal part of their fortune.

Though some of the first settlers in this State were Baptists, yet they have not, as in Kentucky, been the prevailing sect. The Methodists have been and probably are at present, the most numerous of any one denomination in Ohio. The late Governor Tiffin was a Methodist preacher, before his elevation to that dignified office. But the Baptist cause has prevailed considerably, and is now increasing with great rapidity, throughout the State; churches are formed in almost every part of it, and many individuals and little bodies are settled where churches have not yet been established. In 1809, there were in this State about sixty churches, in which were about twenty-five hundred members. There are now 11 Associations, about 150 churches, and almost five thousand members.

Miami Association.

This Association was formed in 1797 of only four churches, in which there were not probably more than a hundred members. It is situated between the Miami Rivers, in the south-west corner of the State. The church formerly called Columbia, now Duck Creek, is not only the oldest in this Association, but in the State. It was raised up in the following manner. In the autumn of 1789, a number of families went down the Ohio River, and commenced a settlement, at the mouth of the Little Miami River on Col. Symmes's Purchase, where

the town of Columbia now stands. This was about six miles from Fort Washington, now Cincinnati. In this company were Mr Isaac Ferris from Connecticut, the late Judge Goforth from New-York, Gen. John Gano from the same city, and Messrs. Benjamin and Elijah Stites originally from New-Jersey. Some others were in the company, whose names I have not learnt. This settlement was made in perilous times. The Indians made every exertion to cut them off and prevent their settlement: they tried by many stratagems to decoy them ashore on their passage down the river; and after they had settled, they were continually lurking to destroy them. They were obliged, for a number of years, to live mostly in forts and block houses; but notwithstanding all their precautions, a number of the first settlers fell victims to the rage of their savage neighbours. A number of the company above mentioned were Baptist professors, but having no preacher among them, they set up a meeting among themselves, which they conducted by turns. In 1790, Stephen Gano, of Providence, Rhode-Island, took a journey into the western country to visit his father and family relations; he also visited this settlement, baptized three persons, and formed the little company into a church, which was the first, of any denomination, raised north of the Ohio River, in that extensive country, then called the North-Western-Territory. This church soon received considerable accessions from emigrants to the Miami country, and as the fears of the Indians subsided, they extended their settlements farther out, and the Columbia church became the mother of most of the first churches, which arose in this region. Its seat is now removed from Columbia to a place called Duck Creek.

Scioto Association.

This Association is in a central part of the State, and was formed in 1805. It contained at the time of its constitution only four churches, but it has since considerably increased. It is situated on both sides of the beautiful Scioto River, from which the Association takes its name, and a number of the churches are in the neighbourhood of Chilicothe. The church at Ames was constituted in 1800; it is composed of people mostly from New-England, and was the first church which was gathered within the bounds of the Association. The German or High

Dutch church at Pleasant Run, in the county of Fairfield, and near the town of New-Lancaster, is the most distinguished on some accounts of any one in this Association, and is remarkable for having emigrated from Virginia, to its present situation in a church capacity.

BEAVER ASSOCIATION.

In 1808, the churches of Providence, Hopewell, Chenango, New-Lisbon, Warren, and Little Beaver, most of which were of recent origin, were dismissed from the Red-Stone Association, and were shortly afterwards formed into the one we now have in view, which received its name from a creek, which empties into the Ohio River from the north, about thirty miles below Pittsburg. The churches in this Association are partly in Ohio and partly in Pennsylvania.

INDIANIA.

In this State are four Associations, called Wabash, White Water, Silver Creek, and Blue River, containing sixty-six churches, and about twenty-five hundred members. But I have not learnt enough of their history to give any thing like a detailed account of them.

ILLINOIS.

I do not find but one small Association in this State, which bears the name of the State.

MISSOURI.

This State contains three Associations called Missouri, Bethel, and Mount Pleasant, which together contain twenty-five churches, and about 700 members.

MISSISIPPI.

An Association was formed in this State, bearing its name, about 1807, which has now increased to 12 churches and over 1100 members.

ALABAMA.

This State contains three Associations, named Flint River, Bigby, and Cahawba, in which are 44 churches, and about 1800 members.

There are probably other churches in the new States and Territories of which no information has been obtained.

Thus we have endeavoured to describe the rise and circumstances of the Baptists throughout the great American Continent. We see that their progress has been great, and that they have extended their communion over a vast extent of country from Nova-Scotia to New-Orleans. A number of miscellaneous articles remain yet to be given; but before we proceed to them, we shall insert a number of biographical sketches.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Biographical Accounts of a Number of Characters, whose History could not be with convenience inserted elsewhere.

JOHN ASPLUND.——This singular man is, on account of his extensive travels, very generally known throughout the United States. According to information received from Mr. John Leland, he was born in the interior of Sweden. He was bred to the mercantile business, went to England about the beginning of the American war, where he acted some time as clerk in a store. He was either pressed or entered voluntarily into the British naval service, which he deserted on the American coast, and made his way into North-Carolina. There, about 1782, he embraced religion, and was baptized by David Walsh. Soon after, he joined the South-Hampton church in Virginia, then under the care of David Barrow. About 1785, he went back to his native country, visited England, Denmark, Finland, Lapland, Germany, and returned to Virginia. Not long after his return, he began to make preparations for his Register of the Baptist churches in America, which he published in a small quarto pamphlet in 1791. This work cost him about seven thousand miles travel, chiefly on foot, which mode of travelling he seems to have preferred. After this, Mr. Asplund travelled ten thousand miles more, and published a second Register in 1794. By this time he had become personally acquainted with seven hundred ministers of the Baptist denomination. Mr. Asplund was a preacher of no great gifts, but was generally respected for a number of years. But at length he got entangled with land speculation, for which he was altogether unqualified. Some other things of an unfavourable nature exposed him to the censures of his brethren. The latter part of his life was spent on the eastern shore of Maryland, and there he was drowned from a canoe, in Fishing Creek, in 1807. He

So hearty and unwearied was Mr. Backus in the cause of religious freedom, that he was for some time regarded as the champion of Non-Conformity in New-England, and was on account of it much villified and abused.

In 1789 he took a journey into Virginia and North Carolina for the purpose of assisting the Baptist cause in that extensive region.

He was the author of about thirty different publications, great and small, among which were three volumes of the History of the Baptists.

"As a preacher, Mr. Backus was evangelical and plain. His discourses, though not ornamented with the rhetorick of language, were richly stored with Scripture truth." His historical works contain a vast fund of materials of the utmost importance towards a history of our denomination, which must have sunk into oblivion, had it not been for his unwearied care. His personal appearance was very grave and venerable. He was not far from six feet in stature, and in the latter part of life considerably corpulent. He was naturally modest and diffident; which probably led him into a habit, which he continued to the day of his death, of shutting his eyes, when conversing or preaching on important subjects. His voice was clear and distinct, but rather sharp than pleasant. In both praying and preaching, he often appeared to be favoured with such a degree of divine unction, as to render it manifest to all that God was with him. Few men have more uniformly lived and acted up to their profession than Mr. Backus. It may be truly said of him, that *he was a burning and shining light;* and, though dead, he left behind him the *good name which is better than precious ointment.*"

MORGAN EDWARDS, A. M.——This singular man was for many years pastor of the first Baptist church in Philadelphia. He was a native of Wales, and was educated in the Bristol Academy, Eng. under the famous Benjamin Foskett. He entered the ministry in the 16th year of his age, and settled in Philadelphia in 1761. He made large collections of materials towards the history of the Baptists, which has often been referred to in this work. And besides other works, he left behind him 42 volumes of sermons, 12 sermons in a vol. all written in a large print hand. R. I. College, or Brown University, is much indebted to his industry and zeal, both in Europe and America.

JOHN GANO was one of the most eminent ministers in his day; in point of talents he was exceeded by few, and as an itinerant he was inferior to none, who ever travelled the United States, unless it were the renowned Whitefield. He was born at Hopewell, in New-Jersey, July 22, 1727, was converted soon after he arrived at manhood, and was ordained in the

place of his nativity, in 1754. His progenitors, on his father's side, were from France, on his mother's, from England. His great-grand-father, Francis Gano, fled from Guernsey, in the time of a bloody persecution; one of his neighbours had been martyred in the day, and in the evening he was fixed on as the victim for the next day; information of which he received in the dead of night. In this perilous situation he made all haste to escape the sanguinary storm which hung over his head: he chartered a vessel, removed his family on board, and in the morning was out of sight of the harbour. On his arrival in America, he settled in New Rochelle, a few miles above the city of New-York, where he lived to the age of a hundred and three. Of the number or names of the family of this religious refugee, we know no more, than that he had one son named Stephen, from whom the subject of this memoir descended. His maternal grand-mother was about seventy-six years, a pious member of a Baptist church; she lived to the age of ninety six. His mother was of the same persuasion, but his father was a Presbyterian. But every thing attending his making a religious profession among the Baptists, was conducted with prudence on his part, and with tenderness on that of his friends.

Soon after Mr. Gano was joined to the Hopewell church, his mind was led to the ministry, but with many anxieties and fears. He was so much absorbed in his thoughts of the great work, that he was often lost to every other object. One morning after he began ploughing in his field, this passage, *Warn the people, or their blood will I require at your hands*, came with such weight upon his mind, that he drove on until 11 o'clock, utterly insensible of his employment. When he came to himself he found he was wet through with the rain, his horses were excessively fatigued, and the labour he had performed was astonishingly great.

After becoming satisfied that preaching would be his employment, he applied himself with much assiduity to studies preparatory for it, which he continued, with some interruptions however, for two or three years.

Mr. Gano officiated as pastor of the First or Gold-Street church in New-York about twenty-five years. During most of the Revolutionary War, his family was obliged to live out of the city, and he was diligently and successfully employed as a chaplain in the American army.

On the return of peace, he returned to his pastoral station, and began to collect the church which had been scattered to many different places. Out of upwards of two hundred members, of which it consisted at the time of its dispersion, he collected at first but thirty-seven; but his congregation soon became large, others of the scattered flock came in, a revival commenced, which prevailed extensively, and at one communion season, near forty young persons were added to their number. In this prosperous manner this successful minister recommenced

his labours in New-York, and every thing appeared promising even to the time he projected his removal to Kentucky. This removal was as unexpected to the church, as it was surprising to his friends. His reasons for it are thus stated by himself: "One William Wood, a Baptist minister, came from Kentucky, and gave a very exalted character of the state of it. He made several encouraging proposals to me to go there, said there was a prospect of usefulness in the ministry, the necessity of an old experienced minister to take care of a young church there, and flattering temporal prospects for the support of my family."

Having resolved on removing, he sold his estate, commenced his journey, and on June 17, 1787, landed at Limestone, and immediately repaired to Washington, where he tarried a while; he then went to Lexington, and finally settled near Frankfort, where he died in 1804, in the 78th year of his age. The labours of this aged minister were owned of God for good in Kentucky; but there is reason to believe, that neither his usefulness nor worldly comforts were so great as he expected. His changes were frequent, and some of them peculiarly trying. The encouraging proposals made by Mr. Wood, appear not to have been realized. His wife was first made a cripple by a fall from a horse, and soon after removed from him by death. By most of the Kentucky brethren he was honoured and esteemed, and by all of them his death was much lamented.

The following summary view of the character of our venerable Sire, was drawn in consequence of a particular request, by Dr. Richard Furman, of Charleston, South-Carolina, who was personally acquainted with him in different stages of his life.

"The late Rev. John Gano will be long remembered with affection and respect in the United States of America. Here was his character formed; and here, as on a conspicuous theatre, were the actions of his amiable, pious and useful life exhibited.

"He was, in person, below the middle stature; and when young, of a slender form; but of a firm, vigorous constitution, well fitted for performing active services with ease, and for suffering labours and privations with constancy. In the more advanced stages of life his body tended to corpulency; but not to such a degree as to render him inactive. His presence was manly, open, and engaging. His voice strong and commanding, yet agreeable, and capable of all those inflections, which are suited to express either the strong or tender emotions of an intelligent, feeling mind. In mental endowments and acquired abilities he appeared highly respectable: with clear conception and penetrating discernment, he formed, readily, a correct judgment of men and things. His acquaintance with the learned languages and science, did not commence till he arrived at manhood, and was obtained chiefly by private instruction, but under the direction of a clerical gentleman, well qualified for the office. To the refinements of learning he did not aspire;

his chief object was such a competent acquaintance with its principles, as would enable him to apply them with advantage to purposes of general usefulness in religion, and to the most important interests of society; and to this he attained.

"His mind was formed for social intercourse, and for friendship. Such was his unaffected humility, candour, and good will to men, that few, if any, have enjoyed more satisfaction in the company of his friends, or have, in return, afforded them, by their conversation, a higher degree of pleasure and moral improvement.

"As a minister of Christ, he shone like a star of the first magnitude in the American churches, and moved in a widely extended field of action. For this office God had endowed him with a large portion of grace, and with excellent gifts.

"He lived to a good old age; served his generation according to the will of God; saw his posterity multiplying around him: his country independent, free and happy; the church of Christ, for which he felt and laboured, advancing; and thus he closed his eyes in peace; his heart expanding with the sublime hope of immortality and heavenly bliss.

"Like John, the harbinger of our Redeemer, "he was a burning and a shining light, and many rejoiced in his light." Resembling the sun, he arose in the church with morning brightness, advanced regularly to his station of meridian splendour, and then gently declined with mild effulgence, till he disappeared, without a cloud to intercept his rays, or obscure his glory."

Oliver Hart, A. M. was born of reputable parents, in Warminster township, Bucks county, Pennsylvania, July 5, 1723. His attention to religion, and conversion to God, were at an early period of his life; for he made a publick profession of religion at Southampton, Pennsylvania, and was received a member of the church in that place, in the 18th year of his age; having been previously baptized by the Rev. Jenkin Jones. At that time, the power of religion was greatly displayed in various parts of this continent, under the ministry of those eminent servants of Christ, Rev. George Whitefield, of the Episcopal church, the Tennants, Edwards, and their associates of the Presbyterian and Congregational churches: and of the Rev. Abel Morgan, and others of the Baptist church. Several of these, Mr. Hart, at this time used to hear; and has since professed to have received much benefit from their preaching, particularly from Mr. Whitefield's.

The call for ministers in the Southern States being great at that time, and the church at Charleston (S. C.) being destitute, he was induced, immediately after his ordination, to set out for that city, where he arrived early in December, on the very day the famous Mr. Chandler, pastor of the church at Ashley River, then the only ordained minister of the Baptist denomina-

tion in that part of the country, and who had preached part of his time for the church in Charleston, as a supply, was buried. The Charleston church, in her destitute situation, had made applications, both to Europe and the northern States, for a suitable minister; and one who had been described as such was actually expected: but the unexpected coming of Mr. Hart was considered as directed by a special providence; and so great was the satisfaction of the church, on hearing him, that he was immediately invited to take the pastoral charge of them; with which he was accordingly invested on the 16th of February following.

For thirty years from this period, he executed the office of pastor of that church, as a faithful, evangelick minister of Christ, passing through a variety of scenes both of joy and depression; but exhibiting, at all times, an uprightness and dignity, both of temper and conduct, becoming his religious and sacred character. His life was exemplary, and his usefulness conspicuous. But on the approach of the British fleet and army, to which Charleston was surrendered in 1780, being justly apprehensive of the consequences which resulted from the siege, and desiring to preserve his *political liberty*, with which he found his *religious* intimately connected, he retired to the northern States. There the attention of the Baptist church at Hopewell, in the State of New-Jersey, was soon attracted towards him, and in consequence of a pressing invitation from them, he became their pastor on the 16th of December, the same year, and served them in that capacity, the last fifteen years of his valuable life.

Mr. Hart was zealous and active in the cause of American independence. In 1775 he was appointed by the Council of Safety, which then exercised the Executive authority in South-Carolina, to travel in conjunction with Hon. William H. Drayton and Rev. William Tennant, into the interior of the State, and conciliate the inhabitants to the measures of Congress, by removing their prejudices, and giving them a just view of their political interests. It was believed that the influence of Mr. Hart, exerted on this occasion, was the means of preventing bloodshed, when the tories first embodied.

James Manning, d. d. was, in his day, one of the brightest ornaments of the Baptist denomination in America. His biography has never been recorded to any considerable extent, and indeed his stationary employment furnished not many incidents for a diffusive narrative. For what few things have been written respecting the character of this illustrious man, we are indebted mostly to the pen of Judge Howel, of Providence, and the following sketches, drawn by this eminent statesman, are found in Rippon's Register.

"Mr. Manning was born in New-Jersey, and educated at Nassau-Hall. Soon after he left college, he was called to the

work of the ministry, by the Baptist church at the Scotch Plains, near Elizabeth-Town.

"After making tours to each extreme of the United States, (then colonies,) and preaching to different destitute churches in sundry places, he removed with his family to Warren in Rhode-Island, preached to the church there, and opened a Latin School. In the year 1765, he obtained a charter of incorporation for Rhode-Island College, of which he was chosen president. And when the College was removed to Providence, in 1770, he of course removed with it; and besides the duties of his presidency, he preached statedly to the Baptist church in this town until a few years before his death. "In his youth, he was remarkable for his dexterity in athletick exercises, for the symmetry of his body, and gracefulness of his person. His countenance was stately and majestick, full of dignity, goodness, and gravity; and the temper of his mind was a counterpart of it. He was formed for enterprise, his address was pleasing, his manners enchanting, his voice harmonious, and his eloquence irresistible.

"Having deeply imbibed the spirit of truth himself, as a preacher of the gospel, he was faithful in declaring the whole counsel of God. He studied plainness of speech, and to be useful more than to be celebrated. The good order, learning, and respectability of the Baptist churches in the eastern States, are much owing to his assiduous attention to their welfare. The credit of his name, and his personal influence among them, perhaps have never been exceeded by any other character.

"Of the College he must be considered as the founder. He presided with the singular advantage of a superior personal appearance, added to all his shining talents for governing and instructing youth. From the first beginning of his Latin school at Warren, through many discouragements, he, by constant care and labour, raised this seat of learning to notice, to credit, and to respectability in the United States. Perhaps the history of no other College will disclose a more rapid progress, or greater maturity, than this, during the twenty-five years of his presidency. Although he seemed to be consigned to a sedentary life, yet he was capable of more active scenes. He paid much attention to the government of his country, and was honoured by Rhode-Island with a seat in the old Congress. In State affairs, he discovered an uncommon sagacity, and might have made a figure as a politician.

"In classical learning he was fully competent to the business of his station. He devoted less time than some others to the more abstruse sciences; but nature seemed to have furnished him so completely, that little remained for art to accomplish. The resources of his genius were great. In conversation he was at all times pleasant and entertaining. He had as many friends as acquaintance, and took no less pains to serve his friends than acquire them."

The following additional observations on Dr. Manning's character, are found in the sermon of Dr. Maxcy, his successor in the presidential office, delivered in the Baptist meeting-house the Lord's day after his interment.

"The loss of this worthy man will be felt by the community at large. He moved in an extensive sphere. He was equally known in the religious, the political, and literary world. As his connexions were extensive and important, his loss must be proportionably great. As a man, he was kind, humane, and benevolent. As he was sociable, as he was communicative, he seemed rather designed for the theatre of action, than for the shades of retirement. Nature had given him distinguished abilities. His life was a scene of anxious labour for the benefit of others. His piety and fervent zeal in preaching the gospel of Christ, evinced his love to his God and to his fellow-men. His eloquence was forcible and spontaneous. To every one who heard him, under the peculiar circumstances in which he appeared in this place, it was evident that the resources of his mind were exceedingly great. The amiableness of his disposition was recommended by a dignified and majestick appearance. His address was manly, familiar and engaging. His manners were easy without negligence, and polite without affectation. In the College over which he presided, his government was mild and peaceful, conducted by that persuasive authority, which secures obedience while it conciliates esteem. As he lived much beloved, he died much lamented. Well may we say that "a great man is fallen."

The following inscription, drawn also by Judge Howel, has been transcribed from the monument which covers the dust of this departed worthy:

In memory of
The Rev. JAMES MANNING, D. D.
PRESIDENT OF RHODE-ISLAND COLLEGE.
He was born in New-Jersey, A. D. 1738.
Became a Member of a Baptist Church A. D. 1758.
Graduated at Nassau-Hall, A. D. 1762
Was ordained a Minister of the Gospel, A. D. 1763.
Obtained a Charter for the College, A. D. 1765.
Was elected President of it the same Year.
And was a Member of Congress, A. D. 1786.
His Person was graceful, and his Countenance remarkably expressive of sensibility, cheerfulness, and dignity.
The variety and excellence of his Natural Abilities, improved by education, and enriched by science, raised him to a rank of eminence among literary characters.
His manners were engaging, and his voice harmonious.
His eloquence, natural and powerful.
His social virtues, classick learning, eminent patriotism, shining talents for instructing and governing youth, and zeal in the cause of Christianity, are recorded on the tables of many hearts.
He died of an apoplexy, July 29, A. D. 1791. Ætat. 53.
The Trustees and Fellows of the College have erected this
MONUMENT.

ELIAKIM MARSHALL was a native of Connecticut; but the time or place of his birth I have not learnt. He was converted under the ministry of Mr. Whitefield in the New-light Stir, and remained a Pedobaptist minister about thirty years. He became a Baptist in 1786, and died at Windsor, near Hartford, 1791. He was through life esteemed a preacher of piety and talents. He was also often a member of the Connecticut Legislature. As he became a Baptist but about five years before his death, he was not much known among the denomination; but on account of some circumstances which attended his conviction of Baptist sentiments, his biography appears worthy of being recorded. While Abraham Marshall, of Georgia, was on his way to visit New-England in 1786, at Philadelphia he fell in with Mr. Winchester, of whom he inquired respecting his relatives in Connecticut. He informed him what he knew; and among other things observed, that Eliakim Marshall, of Windsor, was a man of a sound judgment, a retentive memory, and a tender conscience. "Well," replied Abraham, "if this be his character, I shall expect to baptize him before I return; for if he has a sound judgment, he will understand my arguments in favour of believers' baptism, and against that of infants; if he has a strong memory, he will retain them; and if he has a tender conscience, they will have an influence on his mind. With a firm persuasion, that he should lead his relative into the water, he prosecuted his journey to Connecticut. He kept in mind what Mr. Winchester had told him of this cousin; but he resolved that he would not be forward to introduce the subject of baptism, nor press him too hard at first. Eliakim frequently expressed a desire to hear what his new relation, as he called him, had to say in defence of the opinions in which they differed; but Abraham waved the matter for a time. At length, from slight skirmishes, they, by mutual consent, entered with all their strength into the baptismal controversy, in which Eliakim had been a man of war from his youth, and now manifested a strong assurance of victory. He began with *Abraham's Covenant*, and mustered all the arguments usually brought in defence of Pedobaptism. Abraham, on the other hand, opposed his whole system, as destitute of Scripture proof, and adduced his reasons for his different belief. At the first onset, this old Pedobaptist divine, as he afterwards acknowledged to a friend, had but two arguments left for the support of his system; and continuing to lose ground, while striving with himself to regain it, in the next attack he was completely defeated, and in a short time after confessed his *conscience* could not be easy till he was baptized. A large concourse of people, supposed to be two or three thousand, collected to witness the administration of the solemn rite. The venerable candidate addressed them in a most melting manner: "I was awakened," said he, "under the preaching of Whitefield, about forty years ago, at which time my mind was solemnly impressed with this sentiment, *God is*

wisdom; he, therefore, knows all my thoughts, and all I do. I was in the next place impressed with this sentence, *God is holiness*, and must, therefore, hate all in me, which his wisdom sees is wrong. I was in the third place impressed with this solemn thought, *God is power*; this struck me like thunder, and brought me to the ground." So saying, he burst into tears, and in a moment the tears were flowing from a thousand eyes. "After labouring a few days," continued he, "under these weighty impressions, the soothing declaration, *God is love*, relieved my distress, removed my fears, and filled me with unspeakable joy." He expatiated largely on the interesting event of his conversion, and the most solemn attention pervaded the great assembly.

SILAS MERCER was born near Currituck Bay, North-Carolina, February, 1745. His mother died while he was an infant; his father was a zealous member of the Church of England, and carefully instructed him in the catechism, rites, and traditions of that communion. From early years, young Silas was religiously inclined; but it was not till after he arrived at manhood, that he was brought to the knowledge of salvation through a divine Redeemer. He was for a long time embarrassed and bewildered with that legal system, which he had been taught in his mother Church, and so deeply rooted where the prejudices of his education, that it took him long to learn that salvation is not of works. But he at length gained clear and consistent views of the gospel plan, and was, through his long ministry, a distinguished and powerful defender of the doctrine of free, unmerited grace.

He first resolved to follow strictly the Rubrick of the Church, both in doctrine and discipline; and finding it enjoined *immersion*, unless the weakness of the child required a milder mode, he had two of his children dipped: The first a son, in a barrel of water at the priest's house; and the other a daughter, in a tub, which had been prepared for the purpose at the Church. The son was named Jesse, who is now a worthy minister in Georgia; he was baptized again, on a profession of his faith, and is, of course, an *Ana*-Baptist. Mr. Mercer was also struck with the neglect of discipline in the Church; he saw with pain that persons grossly immoral in many respects were admitted to their communion, and became convinced that things ought not so to be. Hervey's *Theron and Aspasio* started him from the Arminian system, and set him on a train of reflections, which issued in a thorough conviction of the doctrine of the gospel. He laboured for a time to reform the church; but he receded from it with reluctant steps, and became a Baptist when he was about thirty years of age, and continued from that time to the end of his life an ornament to their cause, and a skilful defender of their distinguishing tenets.

SAMUEL STILLMAN, D. D. was born in the city of Philadelphia, of parents respectable for their virtues, and of the religious persuasion of Particular Baptists. At the age of eleven years he was removed with them to Charleston, South-Carolina, and there received the rudiments of his education, at an academy under a Mr. Rind. His improvements there were such as presaged his future worth; and he gave early indications of a mind seriously impressed with a sense of religious truth. In one of his manuscripts we find some account of very early religious impressions being made upon his mind. These, however, he observes, were generally of short continuance, until more effectually awakened by a sermon delivered by the late excellent Mr. Hart, when, to borrow his own language, he says, "My mind was again solemnly impressed with a sense of my awful condition as a sinner. This conviction grew stronger and stronger. My condition alarmed me. I saw myself without Christ and without hope. I found that I deserved the wrath to come, and that God would be just to send me to hell. I was now frequently on my knees, pleading for mercy. As a beggar I went, having nothing but guilt, and no plea but mercy." How long he continued in this distressed condition is not particularly stated, but it appears from several passages of Scripture, he obtained a degree of hope and comfort, though not entirely satisfied. Not long after, he heard Mr. Hart discourse from Matt. i. 21. "And she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins." From this sermon he received consolation, and adds, "Christ then became precious to me, yea, all in all. Then I could say of wisdom, "Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace." That I still think was the day of my espousal. Glory be to God, for the riches of his grace to me. Why me, Lord? &c." He was soon after baptized, and received into the church under the pastoral care of Mr. Hart.

After finishing his classical education, he spent one year in the study of divinity with that gentleman. Being called by the church, he preached his first sermon on the 17th of February, 1758; and on the 26th of February, 1759, was ordained in the city of Charleston, South-Carolina, to the work of an evangelist.

Immediately afterwards, however, he settled at James Island, a most pleasant situation opposite the city. Soon after he visited the place of his nativity, and on the twenty-third of May, the same year, married Hannah, the daughter of Evin Morgan, Esq. merchant of that place, by whom he afterwards had fourteen children. He also took his degree at the university there, and returned to his society on James Island. But he had not continued above eighteen months with his affectionate and united people, before a violent attack of a pulmonary complaint, forced his removal to another climate. He accordingly

fixed himself with his family at Bordentown, New-Jersey, where he supplied two different congregations for the space of two years. His ill health somewhat improved, but by no means restored, determined him at length to visit New-England, hoping that the exercise, together with the change of air, might yet further mend his impaired constitution.

On his arrival here, 1763, at the request of the Second Baptist Church, he removed his family to Boston, and after preaching one year as an assistant to the late Rev. Mr. Bound, accepted an invitation to settle with the First Baptist Church, and was installed over it January 9, 1765.

By nature he was endowed with a sprightly genius, a good capacity, and an uncommon vivacity and quickness of apprehension. His feelings were peculiarly strong and lively, which imparted energy to whatever he did, and under the influence and control of religious principles, served to increase and diffuse his eminent piety. To this constitutional ardour both of sentiment and action, which led him to enter with his whole soul into every subject which engaged his attention, he united a remarkable delicacy of feeling and sense of propriety, and such sprightliness and affability in conversation, such ease and politeness of manners, and at the same time such a glow of pious zeal and affection, as enabled him to mingle with all ranks and classes of people, and to discharge all his duties as a Christian minister and a citizen, with dignity, acceptance, and usefulness. The lively interest he appeared to take, in whatever affected the happiness or increased the pleasures of his friends, the gentleness of his reproofs, and the gratification he seemed to feel in commending others, united to his social qualities, endeared him to all who knew him.

The popularity of a preacher commonly declines with his years. Dr. Stillman, however, was a singular exception to this general remark. He retained it for upwards of forty-two years; and his congregation, which, upon his first connexion with it, was the smallest in the town, at the age of seventy, the period of his death, he left amongst the most numerous.

As a minister of Christ, his praise was in all the churches; and wherever his name has been heard, an uncommon degree of sanctity has been connected with it. His principles were highly Calvinistick, and all his sermons bore strong marks of his warm attachment to that system. The natural strength and ardour of his feelings, indeed, imparted zeal to whatever opinion he espoused, and activity to whatever duty he performed. Yet with all his quickness of perception, and acuteness of feeling, his temper was under admirable control, and he was always the thorough master both of his words and actions. Thus embracing what have been denominated the distinguishing doctrines of the gospel, he explained and enforced them with clearness, and with an apostolick zeal and intrepidity.

On the leading principles of the gospel, he always preached and conversed as a Christian minister, who took a deep and hearty interest in their diffusion and establishment. But he did not depend for success on his zeal and fidelity. He knew that what he was, and what he was enabled to do in the cause of God, were wholly by his gracious influence. Whilst he realized his own entire dependence, and that of others, he was animated in duty, believing that the Lord meeteth all who rejoice and work righteousness, those who remember him in his ways.

As a publick speaker, as a pulpit orator, he was second perhaps to none. Nature had furnished him with a pleasant and most commanding voice, the very tones of which were admirably adapted to awaken the feelings of an audience, and he always managed it with great success. His manner, though grave and serious, was peculiarly graceful, popular and engaging. His remarkable animation gave additional interest to every subject he handled. Those who heard him might with propriety have said of him what was said of another eminent preacher—"This man is in earnest; he believes what he says, and says what he believes. Verily this is a man of God. Ten such men, and Sodom would have stood."

His eloquence was of the powerful and impressive, rather than of the insinuating, and persuasive kind, and so strikingly interesting, that he never preached to an inattentive audience. And even those who dissented from him in some minor theological opinions, were still pleased with hearing him, for they knew his sincerity, they knew him to be a good man.

Few persons are alike eminent in all the different duties of the ministerial office; but it would perhaps be difficult to say in which of these Dr. Stillman most excelled.

In prayer he always seemed to his audience as if engaged with a present Deity. His addresses to Heaven were generally short, but very comprehensive; they were solemn and edifying, and usually very feeling and impressive; and thus coming from the heart, they seldom failed to reach the hearts of others.

With a view more especially to assist young men in attaining a suitable education for the ministry, he successfully employed his talents and zeal in aiding the interests of Brown University, Rhode-Island, which owes much to his exertions.

It might be mentioned as a proof of the high estimation in which his talents were held as a preacher, that there is scarcely any publick occasion on which he has not at one time or another officiated. The university of Cambridge conferred on him the honorary degree of Master of Arts, in 1761. The college in Rhode-Island, of which he was both a Trustee and a Fellow, in 1788 gave him a diploma of Doctor in Divinity. He was elected a member of the Federal Convention for the town of Boston the same year, and distinguished himself there by a

most eloquent speech in its defence. In 1789 he was appointed to deliver the anniversary oration on independence to the town of Boston, which he accomplished in a manner both handsome and acceptable.

Through life his habit of body had been weakly, and he was not unused to occasional interruptions of his ministerial labours; yet he survived all his clerical cotemporaries, both in Boston and its vicinity. It was his constant prayer that his life and usefulness might run parallel: in this his desires were gratified. He had now attained the age of seventy, when the time of his departure had arrived. A slight indisposition detained him at home the two last Lord's days of his life. On the Wednesday following the second of them, without any previous symptoms, he was suddenly attacked at eleven o'clock, A.M by a paralytick shock. At ten at night he grew insensible, and at twelve his useful life and labours were terminated together. Could he have selected the manner of his death, it had probably been such an one as this, which spared him the pain of separation from a flock he was most ardently attached to, and a family he most tenderly loved; a scene which, to a person of his feeling mind notwithstanding all his religion, must have occasioned a shock.

On the Monday following his death, his remains were attended to his meeting-house, where a pathetick and appropriate discourse was delivered on the occasion by the Rev. Dr. Baldwin, pastor of the Second Baptist Church in Boston, to an immensely thronged and deeply affected assembly, from 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8; after which his remains were conveyed to the tomb, amidst the regrets of a numerous concourse of people, who crowded around his bier, anxious to take a last look of the urn which contained the relicks of him, who once to them was so dear, but whose face they should now behold no more.

Dr. Stillman was of the middling stature, of slender habit of body, yet remarkably upright. He was dark complexioned, and rather pale. His countenance, though naturally open and cheerful, yet, either from principle or habit, more frequently presented the appearance of thoughtfulness and solemnity. The vivacity of his mind was strongly marked in the features of his face, which enabled him with uncommon ease to give language to the passions whenever his subject required it.

The gracefulness of his person, the elegance of his manners, and above all, the dignity of his whole deportment were such, as could not fail of interesting the feelings of all who had the happiness of an acquaintance with him. In a word, there was something peculiarly prepossessing in that angelick solemnity, which he always manifested, when engaged in religious duties.

Dr. Stillman's works, which have been published, consist of thirty-six sermons, and one oration.

CHAP. XXXIV.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF BAPTIST COMMUNITIES, WHO DIFFER FROM THE MAIN BODY OF THE DENOMINATION, AND WHO ARE ALSO DISTINGUISHED BY SOME PECULIARITIES OF THEIR OWN.

Arminian, or Free-Will Baptists.

FROM nearly the beginning of the Baptists in America, there have been some, who have opposed a number of the principal articles in the Calvinistic creed. For a long time, most of these brethren resided in Rhode-Island and its vicinity, where their history has been related. For some years there were many of those, improperly called Separate Baptists, in Virginia, and the more southern States, who were called Arminians, because they maintained, that by the sufferings of Christ, salvation was made possible for every individual of Adam's ruined posterity. And besides, there have always been some churches and many individuals, who have objected to some of the strong points of Calvinism, or adopted them with some peculiar modifications; but no very considerable party of this character arose, until one was founded by elder Benjamin Randal, of New-Durham, New-Hampshire. This elder Randal, as his biographer observes, was led, about 1780, "to object against the whole doctrine of *John Calvin*, with respect to eternal, particular, personal, unconditional election and reprobation; and propagated the following maxims, viz. 1st, That all men have sinned and come short of the glory of God. 2nd, That Jesus Christ has died for all men, and, by the grace of God, hath tasted death for every man. 3d, That the grace of God, which bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men. 4th, That Christ's ministers are commanded to go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature; and that he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned."

This zealous minister was assiduous in propagating his opinions, and endeavouring to persuade others to renounce, what he used to call, the *hydra monster*, *Calvinism*. A number soon fell in with his views, broke off from the Calvinistic churches in New-Hampshire, and the District of Maine, and from a small beginning, they have arisen to a large community, which is scattered in different parts of Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, New-York, the Canadas, and in some other places.

Such was the condition of this society when this work was first published. Since then, a large party, formerly called *Christians*, have in a measure coalesced with them, so that they are now ranked, in the public opinion, under one head; and I am informed by some of their members, that they estimate their number, at twenty thousand, or more.

Seventh-Day Baptists.

As the brethren of this sentiment are not numerous, we shall, under this head, give a brief sketch of their history both in Europe and America. The Sabbatarians differ from the Baptists generally in no other article but that of the Sabbath. And upon that subject, as near as I can understand from their writings and conversation, they hold that the ten commandments are all still binding on Christians, and of course, that the *Seventh* day of the week instead of the *First*, ought to be observed as the Christian Sabbath; that there is no account in the New-Testament, that there ever has been, by divine appointment, a change of the Sabbath; and that it is inconsistent for Christians to profess to obey the ten commandments, and still make an exception of the fourth, which contains the solemn requisition, *Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy, &c.* The following passage seems much to their purpose, and is the only one of the kind which I have met with in history:

"It was Constantine the Great, who first made a law for the observation of *Sunday*; and who, according to Eusebius, appointed it should be regularly celebrated throughout the Roman empire. Before him, and even in his time, they observed the Jewish Sabbath as well as Sunday, both to satisfy the law of Moses and to imitate the Apostles, who used to meet together on the First day. Indeed, some are of opinion, that the Lord's day, mentioned in the Apocalypse, is our Sunday, which they will have to have been so early instituted by the Apostles. Be this as it will, it is certain a regard was had to this day, even in the earliest ages of the church, as appears from the first Apology of Justin Martyr, where he describes the exercise of the day not much unlike to ours.

"By Constantine's law, made in 321, it was decreed, that for the future, the Sunday should be kept a day of rest in all cities and towns; but he allowed the country people to follow their work. In 538 the Council of Orleans prohibited this country labour; but in regard there were still abundance of Jews in the Gauls, and that the people gave in to a good many superstitious usages in the celebration of the new Sabbath, like those of the Jews among that of the old, the Council declares, that to hold it unlawful to travel with horses, cattle, and carriages, to prepare foods, or to do any thing necessary to the cleanliness and decency of houses or persons, savours more of Judaism than Christianity."*

Seventh-day Baptists in England.

At what time the Seventh-day Baptists began to form churches in this kingdom does not appear; but probably it was at an early period; and although their churches have never been numerous, yet there have been among them, almost for two hundred years past, some very eminent men. The famous family of the Stennetts, for three generations at least, were of this belief, as were a

* Chambers' Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, Article *Sunday*.

number of other distinguished members of the Baptist community. Of a few of these characters we shall now give some brief account.

Edward Stennett is the first of the family of which we have any information. The time or place of his birth does not appear, but it is probable he was born in the early part of the sixteenth century. In the time of the civil wars he took the side of Parliament, and thereby exposed himself to the neglect of his near relations. When he dissented from the established church and united with the Baptists, he, like all others of those times, fell under the oppressions of the ruling party; and being deprived of the means of subsistence, he applied himself to the study of physick, and became a medical character of some distinction. One very singular escape from the malicious designs of his enemies is thus related by Crosby: —"He dwelt in the castle of Wallingford, a place where no warrant could make forcible entrance, but that of a lord chief justice; and the house was so situated, that assemblies could meet, and every part of religious worship be exercised in it, without any danger of a legal conviction, unless informers were admitted, which care was taken to prevent; so that for a long time he kept a constant and undisturbed meeting in his hall. A gentleman who was in the commission of the peace, and his very near neighbour, being highly incensed at the continuance of an assembly of this kind so near him; after having made several fruitless attempts to get his emissaries admitted into the house in order to a conviction, in the rage of a disappointment resolved, together with a neighbouring clergyman, upon doing it by a subordination of witnesses. They accordingly hired some persons fit for their purpose, to swear they had been at those assemblies, and heard prayer and preaching there, though they had never been in the house on those occasions. The clergyman's conduct in this affair was the more censured, because he had professed a great friendship for Mr. Stennett, and was under considerable obligations to him; having often had his assistance in the way of his profession as a physician, for his family, without any reward. Mr. Stennett finding an indictment was laid against him on the conventicle act, founded upon the oaths of several witnesses, and being well assured that nothing but perjury could support it, was resolved to traverse it, and accordingly did so. The assizes were held at Newbury, and when the time drew near, there was great triumph in the success these gentlemen proposed to themselves, when on a sudden the scene was changed; news came to the justice, that his son, whom he had lately placed at Oxford, was gone off with a player; the concern whereof, and the riding in search of him, prevented his attendance in the court. The clergyman, a few days before the assizes, boasted much of the service which would be done to the church and the neighbourhood by this prosecution, and of his own determination to be at Newbury to help carry it on; but to the surprise of many, his design was frustrated by sudden death. One of the witnesses, who lived at Cromish, was also prevented, by being seized with violent and sad disease, of which he died. Another of them fell down and broke his leg, and was so hindered. In short, of seven

or eight persons engaged in this wicked design, there was but one left who was capable of appearing; he was a gardener, who had been frequently employed by Mr. Stennett at day-labour, but never lodged in his house, nor was admitted to the religious assemblies held there. They thought to make him, as he was a servant to the family, a very material evidence; and kept him in liquor for several days to that purpose. But coming to his reason just as the assizes drew on, he went about the town exclaiming against himself for his ingratitude and perjury, as well as against those who had employed him; and absolutely refused to go. So that when Mr. Stennett came to Newbury, neither prosecutor nor witness appearing against him, he was discharged of course."

Joseph Stennett, one of the sons of this worthy man, was born 1663, and was early brought to the knowledge of the truth; he went to London 1685, and about five years after became pastor of the Seventh day church at Pinner's Hall, which had been deprived of its pastor by the death of Mr. Francis Bampfield. Mr. Stennett was a minister very eminent in his day; his learning and abilities were great, and he rendered essential services to the Baptist cause in London and its vicinity. He preached much among the churches of the First day order, and took an active and successful part in all their concerns. His son Joseph, D. D. retained his opinion respecting the Sabbath, but became pastor of a church of a different belief. The fourth in descent from the ancient Edward Stennett, was the late Samuel Stennett, D. D. and the fifth is the present Joseph Stennett, of Oxfordshire. Whether this distinguished succession have all observed the Seventh day, I am not informed.

Francis Bampfield was one of the most eminent ministers of his time; he was educated at Oxford University, and was a number of years a minister of good repute in the established church. He, different from the father of the Stennetts, in the time of the civil wars, was against the Parliament, opposed the Protector's usurpation, and suffered on that account. At what time he became a Baptist is not known; but on the restoration of Charles, all his former loyalty was disregarded, and he was, through the remainder of his life, treated with unrelenting severities, and constantly followed with persecution and distress. In one prison he was confined eight years. After that he was released, went to London, gathered a church, which kept the Seventh day; but he finally died in Newgate, in 1683. He published a number of tracts among which was one on the observation of the Seventh day Sabbath.*

John James, the minister of a church of Sabbatarian Baptists in London, was put to death in a most barbarous manner, in 1661. To take away his life was not sufficient to satisfy the rage of his bloodthirsty enemies; but after being hung at Tyburn, he was drawn and quartered; his quarters were carried back to Newgate on the sledge, which carried him to the gallows; they were afterwards placed on the gates of the city, and his head was set on a pole opposite his meeting-house. This innocent man was

* Crosby, Vol. i. p. 363—367.

exposed to these terrible sufferings on the charge of speaking treasonable words against his Majesty's royal person at a private meeting, &c. Some of the treasonable words were, that the king was "a bloody tyrant, a blood-sucker, a blood-thirsty man, and his nobles the same; and that they had shed the blood of the saints," &c. To these charges he pleaded not guilty, neither in form nor matter; but had he acknowledged these charges against the infamous Charles II. and his bloody associates, they would have been the words of truth and soberness.

At present, as near as I can learn, there are but three churches in England, which observe the Seventh day. Two of them are in London, and the third in the country, at a place called Natton. Two of them, viz. one in London and the one in Natton, are, in their doctrinal sentiments, Particular Baptists, and the other in London is of the General persuasion.

Seventh-Day Baptists in America.

RHODE-ISLAND was the early resort of Baptists, who kept holy the Seventh day; and it now contains not far from a thousand communicants of this belief. They are also found in a number of the other States.

The first Sabbatarian church in America was formed in Newport in 1671, and originated in the following manner: In the year 1665, Stephen Mumford came over from England, and brought with him the opinion that the whole of the Ten Commandments, as they were delivered from Mount Sinai, are moral and immutable, and that it was an anti-christian power that changed the Sabbath from the Seventh to the First day of the week.* Mr. Mumford appears to have joined Mr. Clarke's church, and Messrs. Hiscox, Hubbard, and others of that community, soon fell in with his opinion of observing the Seventh day. These brethren travelled in communion with that church until 1671, when some of their number fell back to the observation of the First day as the Sabbath. This the Sabbatarians called apostasy, and could no longer travel with the church, except they were expelled. The church counted their change a reformation, and could not therefore bring them under censure.† This was truly an inconvenient posture of affairs, and the Sabbatarians seemed to have no alternative but to withdraw. Their number was seven; their names were William Hiscox, Samuel Hubbard, Stephen Mumford, Roger Baster, and three sisters. These persons formed themselves into a church, and William Hiscox became their pastor. He died in 1704, aged 66, and was succeeded by William Gibson, who died in 1717, aged 79. He came from London, where he had been ordained before his arrival in Newport;‡ is said to have been a scholar, and left behind him a good character as a preacher and Christian. Next to him was Joseph Crandal,

* Clarke's History of the Sabbatarians, p. 8.

† Backus, vol. i. p. 411. M. Edwards's MS. History of Rhode-Island, p. 107.

‡ Edwards's MS. Hist. of Rhode-Island, p. 109.

who had also been his colleague. This is the same Crandal, who was apprehended with Messrs Clark and Holmes at Lynn, in 1651. He died in 1737. After him was John Maxon, who died in 1778. Successor to him was the late venerable Elder William Bliss, who died in 1808, aged 81 The church is now under the care of his son, Arnold Bliss, and Henry Burdick. Besides these pastors, this church has sent forth a considerable number of preachers, who have laboured as assistants at home, and also in different places abroad.

From some of the early members of this church have proceeded a number of the principal characters, in Rhode-Island, and among its communicants were the two governors, Richard and Samuel Ward.*

The Hopkinton church is the largest in the Sabbatarian connexion, and indeed in almost any other, and contains about nine hundred members. It was formed at Westerly in 1708, of members from Newport, who had removed and settled in this region. Westerly, at that time, comprehended all the south-west corner of the State. It was afterwards divided into Hopkinton, Charlestown, &c. This large church has three meeting-houses, at two of which the communion is administered. It has had a succession of worthy pastors, most of whom were remarkable for longevity. It has also sent forth many successful preachers. Its members have filled various different civil offices in the State, and Deacon Babcock, in 1813, was one of its senators.

Though this church has its seat in Hopkinton, yet its members are scattered in a number of the adjoining towns. They are an amiable, pious people, pretty much inclined to the Arminian system. Laying-on-of-hands they generally practise, but do not make it a bar to communion. They have lately had a precious revival among them, in which between one and two hundred were added to their number. Their pastors, till lately, were Abraham Coon and Matthew Stillman. Elder Coon died a few years since, and who succeeds him I have not learnt

The Rhode-Island Sabbatarians, like the school of the prophets, finding their place too small for them, have emigrated to other parts, but mostly to the State of New-York; and by them foundations have been laid for a number of churches of their order, which are in a flourishing condition, and some of them are large.

As to the strictness of observing the Sabbath, their writers seem to differ a little in their rules. Some contend that they ought to keep it according to the spirit of the fourth commandment. Others plead that the rigorous ceremonies enjoined in the Old Testament, are, with the rest of the ceremonial laws, done away under the new dispensation; so that they may lawfully ride their horses to meeting, and do other things on the Sabbath, which the Jews were forbidden to do on their peril.

* Backus, vol. iii. p. 234.

Rogerene Baptists.

THIS sect took its rise at New-London, in Connecticut, about the year 1674; for in that year one John Rogers and James his brother, and an Indian by the name of Japheth, were baptized by a Mr Crandal, then a colleague pastor of the Seventh-day Baptist church in Newport, (R. I.) The next year, by the request of these persons, William Hiscox, the senior pastor of the same church, and two of his brethren, viz. Samuel Hubbard and his son Clarke, made them a visit; when another brother, by the name of Jonathan, was baptized, and these four persons were received as members of the Sabbatarian church, in Newport, in their usual form, by prayer and the laying-on-of-hands. Soon after this, John Rogers's father-in-law (for what reason I do not find) took from him his wife and children, with whom he was never afterwards united. Thus John Rogers not only lost his wife and children in the outset of his career, but upon her complaints against him, he was carried before the Deputy Governor of Connecticut, by whom he was sentenced to Hartford gaol, where he remained a considerable time.

This John Rogers was not only the founder of the sect, and the person from whom they were called *Rogerenes*, but the hero of the cause, in suffering, and writing, and defying; I say *defying*, for he had not been long at the head of the cause, before he printed and published the following proclamation: "I, John Rogers, a servant of Jesus Christ, doth here make an open declaration of war against the great red dragon; and against the beast to which he gives power; and against the false church which rides upon the beast; and against the false prophets, who are established by the dragon and the beast; and against the image of the beast: and, also, a proclamation of derision against the sword of the devil's spirit, which is prisons, stocks, whips, fines, and revilings, all which is to defend the doctrines of devils."—His theory, relative to baptism and the Lord's supper, was scriptural; for the Rogerenes baptized by immersing professed penitents and believers; the Lord's supper they administered in the evening, with its ancient appendages. Some other articles of Roger's creed are as follow: "1st, All days are alike since the death of Christ. 2nd, No medicines are to be used, nor doctors nor surgeons employed. 3d, No grace at meals. 4th, All prayers to be mental, and not vocal, except when the spirit of prayer compels to the use of the voice. 5th, All unscriptural parts of religious worship are idols. 6th, All good Christians should exert themselves against idols," &c. Among these idols they placed the first day of the week, infant baptism, &c. The First-day Sabbath they called the *New-England idol.* The methods they took to demolish this idol were, they would be at work near meeting-houses, and in the ways to meeting-houses; and take work into meeting-houses, the women knitting, and the men whittling and making splits for baskets, and every now and then contradicting the preachers; this was seeking persecution, and they had plenty of it; insomuch that the New-Englanders left some of them neither liberty, nor property, nor whole skins.

Such was the beginning of the sect of the Rogerenes. Had they enjoyed a free toleration in their wild speculations, and been exposed to no more legal coercion than a judicious magistracy would have inflicted, their zeal might have soon abated, and their sect become extinct. But their intolerant neighbours and rulers could exercise no degree of patience or forbearance towards them. And the Rogerenes gloried in tribulation: they often published accounts of their persecutions and sufferings, and most fully demonstrated to their enemies, "that persecution is the surest way to increase its objects."

Mr. Backus says of John Rogers, "that he intermixed a number of precious truths with many things of a contrary nature."

The Rogerenes, in their language and some other peculiarities, resembled the Quakers; hence they were often called Quaker Baptists. Their posterity, under the names of Rogers, Bolles, &c. are still numerous; and many of them are not only respectable, but some of them are distinguished members of many of the Baptist churches in different parts of New-England and some of the other States.

A small company of the Rogerenes still exists in Groton, near New-London.

Keithian Baptists.

Soon after the settlement of Pennsylvania, a difference arose among the Quakers, touching *the sufficiency of what every man has within himself for the purpose of his own salvation.* Some denied that sufficiency, and consequently magnified the external Word, Christ, &c. above Barclay's measure. These were headed by the famous George Keith, and therefore called *Keithians.* The difference arose to a division in the year 1691, when separate meetings were set up in divers parts of the country, and a general one at Burlington in opposition to that of Philadelphia. This year they published a *Confession of Faith*, containing twelve articles, much in Barclay's strain, and signed by George Keith, Thomas Budd, John Hart, Richard Hilliard, Thomas Hooten, and Henry Furnis, in the behalf of the rest. They also published *the reasons of the separation*, &c. signed by the same persons and others, to the number of 48. About the same time, and afterward, were published several other pieces. The design of those publications was,

1st. To inform the world of the principles of the Separate Quakers.

2d. To fix the blame of the separation on the opposite party.

3d. To complain of the unfair treatment, slanders, fines, imprisonments, and other species of persecution, which they endured from their brethren.

From this separation, in process of time, arose a number of Baptist Societies, which, from the name of their leader, were called Keithian Baptists.

"Thus we have seen, says Morgan Edwards, that the Keithian Quakers ended in a kind of transformation into Keithian Baptists: they were also called Quaker Baptists, because they still retained the language, dress, and manners of Quakers. A con-

fession of faith was published by the Keithian Baptists in 1697; it consists chiefly of the articles in the Apostles' creed. The additions are articles which relate to baptism by immersion, the Lord's supper, distinguishing days and months by numerical names, plainness of language and dress, not swearing, not fighting, &c."

Tunken Baptists.

"THEY are called *Tunkers** in derision; which is as much as to say, *Sops*, from *tunken, to put a morsel into sauce*: but as the term signifies *Dippers*, they may rest content with the nick-name, since it is the fate of Baptists, in all countries, to bear some cross or other. They are also called *Tumblers*, from the manner in which they perform baptism, which is by putting the party's head forward under water, while kneeling, so as to resemble the motion of the body in the action of tumbling. The Germans sound the letters *t* and *b* like *d* and *p*; hence, the words *Tunkers* and *Tumblers* have been corruptly written *Dunkers* and *Dumplers*.

"The first appearing of these people in America, was in the fall of the year 1719, when about 20 families landed in Philadelphia, and dispersed themselves, some to Germantown, some to Skippeck, some to Oley, some to Connestogo, and elsewhere. This dispersion incapacitated them to meet for publick worship; and, therefore, they soon began to grow lukewarm in religion. But in the year 1722, Messrs. Baker, Gomery, Gantz, and the Trautrs, visited their scattered brethren, which was attended with a great revival, insomuch that societies were formed wherever a number of families were within reach one of another. But this lasted not above three years. They settled on their lees again, till about thirty families more of their persecuted brethren arrived in the fall of 1729, which both quickened them again, and increased their number every where. These two companies had been members of the same church which originated at Schwardzenau, in 1708. The first constituents were Alexander Mack and wife, John Kiffin and wife, George Grevy, Andreas Bhoney, Lucas Fetter, and Joanna Nethigeim. These had been bred Presbyterians, except Kiffin, who was a Lutheran; and, being neighbours, they consorted together to read the Bible, and edify one another in the way they had been brought up; for as yet they did not know there were any Baptists in the world. However, believers' baptism and a congregational church soon gained upon them, insomuch that they were determined to obey the gospel in these matters. They desired Alexander Mack to baptize them; but he, deeming himself in reality unbaptized, refused. Upon which they cast lots to find who should be administrator. On whom the lot fell hath been carefully concealed. However, baptized they were in the river Eder by Schwardzenau, and then formed themselves into a church; choosing Alexander

* The word *Tunkers*, in German, and the word *Baptists*, in Greek, and the word *Dippers*, in English, are exactly of the same signification. *Edwards.*

Mack to be their minister. They increased fast, and began to spread their branches to Merienborn and Epstein, having John Naass, and Christian Levy to their ministers in those places. But persecution quickly drove them thence, some to Holland, and some to Creyfelt. Soon after, the mother church voluntarily removed from Schwardzenau to Serustervin in Friezland, and from thence migrated towards America in 1719. In 1729, those of Creyfelt and Holland followed their brethren.

"Thus we see that all the Tunken churches in America sprang from the church at Schwardzenau in Germany; that that church began in 1708, with only seven souls, and that in a place where no Baptist had been, in the memory of man, nor any now are. In 62 years that *little one became a thousand, and that small one a great nation.*

"It is very hard to give a true account of the principles of these Tunkers, as they have not published any system or creed, except what two individuals have put forth, which have not been publickly avowed. However, I may assert the following things concerning them from my own knowledge. They are *General Baptists*, in the sense which that phrase bears in Great Britain; but not Arians nor Socinians, as most of their brethren in Holland are. General redemption they certainly hold; and, withal, general salvation; which tenets, though wrong, are consistent. They use great plainness of language and dress, like the Quakers; and like them they will neither swear nor fight. They will not go to law, nor take interest for the money they lend. They commonly wear their beards; and keep the First-day Sabbath, except one congregation. They have the Lord's Supper, with its ancient attendants of love-feasts, washing feet, kiss of charity, and right hand of fellowship. They anoint the sick with oil for recovery; and use the trine immersion of laying-on-of-hands and prayer, even while the person baptized is in the water; which may easily be done, as the party kneels down to be baptized, and continues in that posture till both prayer and imposition of hands be performed. But though their baptism be well contrived for trine immersion, yet it loses its resemblance of a *burial*. Their church government is purely republican, and their discipline the same with those of the English Baptists.

The main body of Tunker Baptists in America are, at present, as they ever have been, in Pennsylvania.

By a statement of Mr. Edwards for 1790, it appears, that of the Tunker Baptists there was at that time one church in New-Jersey, 15 in Pennsylvania, seven in Maryland, and in the more southern States, ten; making in all 33. But what has been their progress since the last mentioned date, or what is their present situation as to numbers, &c. I have not been able to learn. I am informed by Dr. Rogers, of Philadelphia, and others, that "it is, at present, a fixed principle with them, to make no communication; and that they feel hurt when interrogated respecting their society."

While they have declined in some places, and become extinct in others, they have emigrated to remoter regions, and formed new establishments, some of which are very large. One of these is in the Alleghany mountains, in Somerset county, Pennsylvania,

in a place called Brothers' Valley, near the town of Berlin, about 200 miles westward of Philadelphia. There is also another large society in the Red-stone county, beyond the mountains, on Jacob's Creek, in the counties of Fayette and Westmoreland.

These people have also become adventurers to the Western States of Ohio and Kentucky; and some of them, I have been informed, have settled not far from Detroit, in the Michigan Territory.

The following anecdote of a preacher from that country, by the name of John Messemer, was related to me by the Rev. David Jones, of the Great Valley, Pennsylvania, to whom it was related by Mr. Messemer himself.

"While visiting my brethren in these parts," (said the Tunker in his broken English) "I thought I would go to de city of Philadelphia, and hear some of de preachers dere. I first went to hear de Universalists; and I found dey preach no *hell* dere, but dey seem have no religion too. I next go to hear de Methodists, and dey preach *all hell*, but dey seem have good deal religion too. I next go to hear de Baptists, and dey preach some *hell* and some *heaven*, and this I thought was de rightest way."

It is difficult to say what are the definite doctrinal sentiments of the Tunkers; it is said, however, that they hold the doctrine of universal salvation, and hence they are often called Universalists; but this sentiment they are not forward to advance, nor strenuous to defend; and it is probable they maintain it with some peculiar qualifications.

The Tunkers still maintain their former simplicity, and most of those distinguished religious maxims and peculiar domestick habits, which Mr. Edwards ascribes to them. But by the best information I can gain, they have much depreciated as to vital religion, and appear too generally contented with keeping up their external forms, while but little of the power of godliness is to be found amongst them. But as they have not conformed to the unscriptural traditions of men, but have, in the midst of their lukewarmness and declension, preserved essentially the primitive mode of administering the ordinance of Baptism, we shall give them a place among the American Baptists.

Mennonites.

"These have their denomination from the personal name of Menno Simon, a native of Witmars, and a man of parts and learning, who carried the reformation one step farther than either Luther or Calvin; and who, no doubt, would have been ranked with the chief reformers, had there not been some cross-grained fatality attending the laudable deeds of Baptists to prevent their having, in this world, the praise they deserve. He was born in the year 1505. Got into orders in 1528. Continued a famous preacher and disputer to 1531, when he began to suspect the validity of many things in the church of Rome, and among the rest, that of *infant baptism*. He discovered his suspicions first to the doctors of his own fraternity; but they, resolving all to the authority of the church, relieved him not. Then he visited Luther and many besides, who had, at the time, avowed the word

of God to be the only rule of faith and practice in religious concernments. What satisfaction they gave him, touching other matters, I do not find; but their grounding infant baptism on consequences and expedience, rather than on any express precept or precedent, increased his suspicion. He then betook himself to the close study of the New-Testament and ecclesiastical history; and finding no traces of it in the first and second century, nor yet in the word of God; and strong indications of *believers' baptism* in both, he renounced the former, and embraced the principles of the Baptists, notwithstanding the disgrace which the profession had been brought under by the appearance of some Baptists in the insurrection of those times, which were common throughout most parts of Germany.*

"Menno continued preaching and planting churches in the various parts of the low countries, for a course of about 30 years, and died in peace, January 31, 1561, after having been hunted like a partridge on the mountain by both Protestants and Papists. The faith and order of this eminent reformer may in some measure be gathered from the fragments of his works which are now extant. A *General Baptist*, as that character is understood in Great-Britain, he certainly was; but I have not seen sufficient evidence of his being what is now called an Arian or Socinian. I rather think that the term Arminian or Remonstrant, would better suit his religious sentiments. But the Mennonites in Pennsylvania, and in other parts of the world, have somewhat deviated from Menno, in matters both of faith and practice; particularly in that of baptism. He, in his Declaration concerning Christian baptism in water, printed in 1539, page 24, expressly saith, "After we have searched ever so diligently, we shall find no other baptism besides *dipping in water*, which is acceptable to God, and maintained in his word." After which he adds, page 39, "Let who will oppose, this is the only mode of baptism that Christ Jesus instituted, and the Apostles taught and practised." Accordingly Menno was dipped, and did dip others. His successors did the same, except when they made proselytes in prisons, or were hindered from going to rivers; and this they excused from a consideration of necessity. Touching the subjects of baptism, the Mennonites still retain their integrity, by administering the ordinance to none but those who profess faith and repentance, and make vows of subjection to the Gospel of Christ; which keeps up the distinction between *world* and *church*; for where baptizing infants prevails, there can be no world, all are church; but they do not prefer *dipping*. Their common method is this: The person to be baptized kneels; the minister holds his hands over him, into which the deacon pours water, and through which it runs on the crown of the kneeling person's head; after which follow imposition of hands and prayer.

"The principles and practices of the Mennonites in Pennsylvania may be seen in their Confession of Faith, published at Philadelphia, in 1727. This confession, as far as it goes, is orthodox; and is no other than a translation of that framed and published at Dordrecht, in 1632, by deputies from all the Mennonites in Europe.

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* Ad omnes fere Germaniæ partes hæc contagio pervasit.
Sleidan's Hist. b. 4. p. 116.

There were of the Mennonites in America, in the year 1770, 15 churches; about 20 ordained ministers or bishops, as they call them; between 50 and 60 probationary or licensed preachers; 2361 communicants; 1310 families; and, allowing 5 to a family, 6550 souls. Their number has probably decreased since that period, although they are at present considerably numerous. But as they have changed the administration of baptism, from immersion to affusion, and thereby not only departed from the only scriptural mode of administering this ordinance, but also from the example of the noble founder of this sect, we shall wholly leave them out in our enumeration of the American Baptists.

CHAP. XXXV.

Missionary Societies.

THE most considerable institution of this kind among the Baptists in America was formed at Boston in 1802. It must be considered as an appendage of the Warren Association, as its principal promoters were members of that body. Since the Boston Association has been formed, it has peen patronized by both of these communities. About the time this society arose, there were many Macedonian cries from different parts of the country, and a number of zealous preachers stood ready to go forth to labour among the destitute, provided they could have some assistance to bear them on the way. In this posture of affairs, proposition was made by Dr. Baldwin and others for establishing a society upon a missionary plan. Many were fearful of engaging in the undertaking; but an attempt was made, which has been crowned with abundant success. The first year they received but about 150 dollars, but their receipts have increased yearly, so that they have now in 18 years received about 20,000 dollars; most of which has been expended in sending missionaries in the District of Maine, in Nova-Scotia, in the Canadas, and in the back settlements of New-Hampshire, Vermont, New-York, and some other States.

The Baptists in New-York began to exert themselves in the missionary cause, in connexion with the Presbyterians in that city, about the beginning of the present century. By their united efforts, sums of considerable amount were raised, and missionaries were sent out in different directions. Mr. Holmes, of the Baptist order, was stationed among the Six Nations, where he laboured a number of years to some effect. But our brethren, not finding matters go on according to their minds, in 1806 withdrew, formed a society by themselves, and very good success has attended their exertions. Since they began their operations, the sum total of their receipts amounts to about 3500 dollars. They expected, in the spring of 1814, to receive 1000 dollars, lately bequeathed the Society. Such was the state of this and the following societies when this history was first published; what has been done by them since, I have not learnt.

The Philadelphia Association set on foot a missionary plan about 1800. Their receipts for some years at first were not large, but there has been a promising increase of their means ; so that they have been enabled to send the Gospel to many destitute places in the back parts of Pennsylvania and in the northeast parts of Ohio.

The New-Jersey Association, at the time that it came out of the Philadelphia, established a Missionary Society within its bounds ; and in the year 1812, its receipts from different sources amounted to about 200 dollars.

By the Charleston Association a Missionary Society was begun in 1803. It had for its principal object the sending of the gospel to the Catawba Indians, who inhabit their State In 1810, this society had collected by annual contributions $1896,60 ; of which $1850,78 had been expended in paying the salaries of their missionary and school-master, purchasing books, &c * It has probably received about $200 a year since, which would now (1820) make the sum total of its receipts, about $3900 It appears by the Minutes of the Association for 1812, that in that year $122,50 were received from the Wadmalaw and Edisto Female Mite Society, by the hands of Mrs. Eliza A. Adams, and Mrs. Hepzibah Townsend.

When we go back from the seaport towns, we find a considerable number of missionary establishments. The Shaftsbury Association, early in the beginning of this century, began to make exertions to send the Gospel to the destitute.

In the bounds of the Otsego, Madison, and Franklin Associations, has been formed an institution for missionary purposes, by the name of the Hamilton Missionary Society.

On the west of this region an institution was formed some years ago, called the Lake Missionary Society.

In addition to these societies, the several Associations of Sturbridge, Leyden, Woodstock, Vermont, Saratoga, Cayuga, and Black River, in New-England and New-York, have some years past made annual collections of from about forty to considerably over a hundred dollars. About eighty dollars a year are generally collected. These monies they generally appropriate to their own ministers, who are disposed to itinerate, in places remote and destitute. All these institutions are called missionary, though most of them more properly deserve the name of itinerant. Their effects have been peculiarly useful and promising. Many, who had previously a zeal for itinerating, have been enabled to do it without injury to their families or embarrassment to themselves Many new and destitute places in this wide-spread country have been blessed with the dispensation of the precious word of life ; many of the saints, who have removed far from their brethren, have been refreshed ; many sinners have, by the labours of the missionaries, been hopefully born into the kingdom of God, and by their means a considerable number of churches have been planted.

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* Furman's Hist. of the Charleston Association, p. 52.

Baptist General Convention for Foreign Missions.

THIS body was formed in Philadelphia, in 1814, and was designed principally for sending Missionaries to India. A little before this period, Messrs. Rice and Judson, two Pedobaptist missionaries, while on their voyage to India, were brought to embrace the sentiments of the Baptists, and were baptized shortly after their arrival in Calcutta. As Providence seemed to cast them on the hands of the American Baptists, they have made great exertions to support them and others in the missionary field. A mission has been established by this society at Rangoon in the Burman Empire, in which have been associated Messrs. Judson, Hough, Colman, and Wheelock, and their wives; of whom, only Messrs. Judson and Colman, and their wives, remain at the station. Mr. Wheelock died Aug 20, 1819, on his passage from Rangoon to Calcutta. This voyage was undertaken for the benefit of his health.

This body has also taken much pains to establish Western Missions, and lately it is endeavouring to form Missionary establishments among the American Indians, those once proud possessors of the soil, on which our empire is planted; that long neglected race of mankind, who, aside from their want of a written language, are more accessible to gospel missionaries than any other set of heathen; and it is easier to learn them a language, than to break off the Hindoo from his *cast*, the Mahometan from his delusion, and idolaters generally from their depraved and deep rooted systems of absurdity and fanaticism.

Many societies have been formed auxiliary to this; by the contributions of which, and by the unwearied exertions of Mr. Rice, the agent of the society, large sums have been collected, and now about twenty-two thousand dollars remain in the treasury.

Literary Institutions and Education Funds.

BROWN UNIVERSITY is the most important literary establishment among the Baptists in America. It was projected, according to Morgan Edwards, in 1762, by the Philadelphia Association. The year after, Mr. James Manning, who afterwards became its president, landed at Newport on his way to Halifax, Nova-Scotia, "and made a motion to several gentlemen of the Baptist denomination, (of whom Col. Gardner, the Deputy Governor was one) relative to a seminary of polite literature, subject to the government of the Baptists. The motion was properly attended to, which brought together about fifteen gentlemen of the same denomination at the Deputy's house, who requested Mr. Manning to draw a sketch of the design against the day following." The plan was formed according to desire, and the next day Governor Lyndon and Col. Job Bennet were appointed to draw a charter; but they, pleading unskilfulness in the business, solicited the aid of Rev. Ezra, afterwards Dr. Styles, president of Yale College, New-Haven. Before the business was matured, Mr. Manning was obliged to go on board the vessel for Halifax. "The object for fixing on Rhode-Island for a Baptist College was, that that

Legislature was chiefly in the hands of their denomination, and was therefore the likeliest place to have one established by law." But so unsuspicious were the Baptists, that they came very near being defeated in their design. The charter was so artfully drawn by Dr. Styles, that the Presbyterians would have had the power of controlling the institution, had it received the sanction of the Legislature in its original form.

The charter is too long to be transcribed, but the following is a summary of its contents. The institution was named the "Trustees and Fellows of the College or University, in the English Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations." The corporation consists of two separate branches, with distinct, separate, and respective powers. The number of Trustees is thirty-six, of whom twenty-two are Baptists, five of Friends or Quakers, five Episcopalians, and four Congregationalists, frequently called Presbyterians. The same proportion of different denominations to continue *in perpetuum*. The number of Fellows, (including the President, who is a Fellow, *ex officio*) is twelve, of whom eight are Baptists, the others may be chosen indiscriminately from any denomination. The concurrence of both branches by a majority of each is necessary for the validity of an act, except the adjudging and conferring degrees, which exclusively belongs to the Fellowship as a learned faculty. The President must be a Baptist; Professors and other officers of instruction are not limited to any particular denomination. The annual commencement is on the first Wednesday of September, when there is a general meeting of the Corporation.

For a few years after the charter was granted, the institution moved on but slowly towards maturity. Mr. Manning was chosen President, and in 1766, began with a small class at Warren, where it was at first proposed the college should be located. The year after, Mr. Morgan Edwards, of Philadelphia, set sail for England, to collect money towards paying the salary of the President and his assistant, for as yet they had no funds. Mr. Edwards met with very good success, "considering," as he says, "how angry the mother country then was with the colonies for opposing the stamp act."

Afterwards, the late Dr. Hezekiah Smith and others collected sums of considerable amount for the purpose of endowing the institution."

The college edifice is of brick, four stories high, exclusive of the cellar, which is partly above ground, 150 feet long, and 46 wide, with a projection of ten feet on each side. It has an entry lengthwise, with rooms on each side. There are 52 rooms for the accommodation of students, and four larger ones for public uses.

This institution has had three Presidents. Dr. Manning, its founder, held this office about twenty-five years. His character has been given in the biographical department.

Successor to him was Jonathan Maxcy, D. D. late President of the College at Columbia, South-Carolina.

Asa Messer, D. D. L L. D. the present President, was elevated to the presidential chair in 1802.

Waterville Literary and Theological Institution.

This establishment was planned in 1812, and in that year the Legislature of Massachusetts granted a township of land in the District of Maine, for its benefit. But little advantage however has yet been derived from it.

A public course of instruction was begun at this place a few years since under Rev. Jeremiah Chaplin, D. D. formerly of Danvers, Mass. Rev. Avery Briggs has since been associated with him as Professor of Languages. Since Maine has become a State it has granted a thousand dollars a year to this Institution; and it is hoped that they will soon be able to erect a building, and put things in a prosperous condition.

An Institution connected with the Baptist General Convention, designed to promote the literary attainments of the ministry, has been brought into operation; and eighteen students at present belong to it, pursuing a course of improvement under the instruction of the Rev. Dr. Staughton and Professor Chase in Philadelphia. At their late triennial meeting the Convention determined on locating the Institution at the City of Washington, in the District of Columbia, at which place forty-six acres of land have been purchased, and a building 117 feet by 47 intended to be 3 stories, is rising; and to this the students will be removed as soon as circumstances shall render it convenient. It is expected that a College, distinct from the Institution for the ministry will be established on the same premises, under the direction of the Convention. Mr. Rice, the Agent for the Missionary Convention, is taking unwearied pains to collect money for this object.

An academy was kept for some time by Mr. Eaton at Hopewell, New Jersey, at which Drs. Manning, Jones, Smith, and Skillman, and others, received the rudiments of their education.

This academy was begun in 1756 and closed in 1767.

A similar school was opened by the late Dr. Samuel Jones of Lower Dublin in 1766, in which a number of ministers received their education either in part or in full.

Rev Messrs. Williams of Wrentham, Mass. and Roberts of Statesbury, S. C. have long conducted seminaries of a similar kind.

The Charleston Association in 1791 began to raise a Fund, the interest of which was to be applied to the gratuitous education of pious young men for the ministry. This fund now amounts to about nine thousand dollars, and by it a considerable number of ministers have been assisted.

The Warren Association commenced raising a similar Fund, and what is a little singular, the same year, which amounts to about 3000 dollars.

It is considered the property by equity of the two Associations of Warren and Boston, and a proposition has been made to divide it between them, which it is expected will soon be effected.

General Observations.

Morgan Edwards, about forty years ago, observed that the Baptists were more agreed as to the *credendi* than the *agendi* of their order; that is, they were more united in their doctrinal sentiments, than in modes of practice. At present there is some diversity on both of these points. But when we consider that they are spread over an extent of country more than two thousand miles in length, and from five hundred to more than a thousand in width; that they have rapidly increased from a small community to a numerous host; that among them are persons from almost every nation in Europe, and from nearly every religious persuasion in Christendom; that they are not bound to subscribe to any Articles or Confessions; that every church is a distinct, independent body, governed by its own laws, and amenable to no foreign tribunal; that they admit of no dictating synods, nor controlling assemblies; I say, when all these things are considered, instead of being surprised at any diversity in smaller matters, it is rather a subject of wonder that there is such an agreement in their doctrinal views, and such a correspondence in their maxims and modes of procedure.

It must be understood, that the observations we are here making, regard the Associated Baptists, and those, who are in communion with them. The minor sects of baptized believers have been described under their respective heads.

Throughout America and in England and its dependencies, the Baptists form but one body. A brother from the farthest churches on the American continent, or from the remotest part of the British dominions, need only produce a certificate of his regular standing, to be admitted to the communion and fellowship of any church where his lot may be cast. And by messengers from one Association to another, by the interchange of Minutes, by epistolary communications, &c. there is a correspondence constantly maintained throughout this wide connexion.

There is, generally speaking, a great similarity of manners among all the churches on the American continent; and the same, I conclude, may be said of them elsewhere; yet there are some differences arising from local habits, and from that cameleon disposition of taking the colour of the nearest object. In many parts of the New-England States, there is a dull, unanimating manner, among both ministers and private Christians which they seem to have borrowed from their Pedobaptist neighbours. In most parts of the Southern and Western States, you find among them much of the fervour, the ado, and amen, of the Methodists. Among the country churches in all the States a cordial and unaffected hospitality prevails; every house is a welcome home for ministers and brethren, who may call. The churches in towns and cities for the most part exercise hospitality to a good degree, and some at the southward pay a marked attention to visiting brethren, especially ministers. A few cities and principal towns, in different sections of this wide-spread empire, are visited by so many brethren and even ministers on business of a secular nature, who, as it is right they should, provide lodgings for them-

selves, that it sometimes happens that those, who are on religious or preaching visits only are left to provide for themselves.

Take this denomination at large, I believe the following will be found a pretty correct statement of their views of doctrine They hold that man in his natural condition is entirely depraved and sinful; that unless he is born again—changed by grace—or made alive unto God—he cannot be fitted for the communion of saints on earth, nor the enjoyment of God in Heaven; that where God hath begun a good work, he will carry it on to the end; that there is an election of grace—an effectual calling, &c. and that the happiness of the righteous and the misery of the wicked will both be eternal

The doctrines of Arius and Socinus, with their concomitant train of errors, have found scarce any advocates among them; if any embrace these, they are by a general consent disowned and excluded from fellowship.

The doctrine of the Atonement has been differently understood. The old churches pretty uniformly held that it was *particular*; that is, that Christ died for the *elect* only, and that in his stupendous sufferings, no respect was had to, nor any provision made for, any others of Adam's ruined race. This was called the strict Calvinistick or Gillite plan. Yet there have been some all along, who found this meat too strong for their appetite and digestion. These brethren, notwithstanding they disclaimed all merit in the creature, and held that salvation was by grace alone, were generally denominated Arminians, as it was thought there could be no medium between the systems of John of Geneva, and James of Amsterdam. The latitudinarian principles of such brethren, had, however, gained ground considerably previous to the importation of Dr. Fuller's piece, entitled, *The Gospel worthy of all acceptation*, which represents the Atonement as general in its nature, but particular in its application. This new explanation was by many considered as affording peculiar relief to the embarrassments of the Gillite plan; multitudes every where became the disciples of our famous English divine; so that now it is probable the greater part of the American churches have fallen in with his views. There are some, however, who find considerable difficulties attending both Gill's and Fuller's definitions of this mysterious subject, and who, without either sceptical indifference, or a strenuous attachment to systems of human arrangement, content themselves with believing merely, that God *so loved the world*, that he gave his only begotten Son, that *whosoever believeth on him*, should not perish, but have everlasting life.

The churches in the cities and principal towns have generally devised means to afford their pastors a competent support: many of those in the country have reformed much of their former negligence, and a more liberal spirit is, in many places, prevailing.

A review of the progress of the gospel will convince us that churches are seldom on the gospel line with regard to the support of their ministers; and it is highly probable that upon a large scale the cause of Christ has been more injured by ministers' receiving too much, than too little. A preacher, who has a princely salary, is tempted to adopt a style proportionate, and in

consequence becomes inaccessible and unprofitable to the poor of his flock, who are generally the most numerous and better part of it.

There is a place somewhere between the palace and the alms-house, where the ministers of the gospel ought to reside; but it is a notorious fact, that the real servants of Christ, in all ages and countries, as John Leland somewhere observes, have been like the camels of Arabia, who, while they carry spices and jewels, feed on shrubs and thistles.

As to our connexion in America, we will not cast all the blame of this affair on the churches, since the ministers ought to bear no inconsiderable share of it. Many, by their imprudent discourses, excited prejudices, which were hard to counteract; and some at this present time, who have a competency of worldly things, either by heirship or by the favourable turns of fortune, refuse to receive a reward for their ministerial services; and, to gain popularity, speak often on the subject, and rather discountenance the practice, not considering that but few of their brethren are in their circumstances. Many, who engage in the ministry, go directly into secular employments, before they try the experiment, whether they will be supported without them. They soon get so embarrassed in worldly pursuits, that they cannot devote much time to study nor visiting their flocks; so that if their people give them but little for preaching, they give as much as it is worth. And it may happen that those, who have competent salaries granted them, instead of being assiduous in the duties of their ministry, spend most of their time in indolence, or else in plans and pursuits to lay up money. We do not pretend that many of our ministers come under this last class, as but few of them are in the circumstances it describes.

The Baptists have constantly been accused of despising literature, and of teaching maxims unfriendly to its prevalence. This is an accusation in many respects groundless, in others it needs some qualification. The acquisition of the common rudiments of learning, they have certainly always encouraged; but they have so often seen Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, placed over the head of the Saviour, that it is not strange if they have carried their prejudices against learned ministers to an undue extreme. But a relish for literature is prevailing, and its usefulness to ministers is more generally acknowledged than formerly, though none of our churches nor any of our ministers, whether learned or unlearned, have adopted the most absurd of all absurd propositions, that a man of gifts and grace, who has a dispensation of the gospel committed to him, cannot be qualified for the work, until he has gone the round of academical studies.—Should the period ever arrive in which Baptist churches shall confine the ministry to college-men only, then transmigration will be rapid, and other churches will be formed from them, as they have been built up from all others, who have adopted this practice.

That learning is useful for a preacher, none who know its benefit or have felt its need, will deny; but the true church of Christ never has, and in my opinion never will hold, that gospel ministers may not guide their fellow-men in the path of salvation without it.

The Baptists in all countries and ages have allowed and encouraged all their brethren, who have gifts, whether set apart for the ministry or not, to exercise them in their assemblies; and,

when they are alive in religion, have many conferences and social meetings for the purpose. Meetings for social worship will generally be found a good thermometer, by which the temperature of churches may be correctly ascertained: those which have no meetings except on Lord's days, and where none but the minister takes any part in devotional exercises, may be considered in a cold latitude.

The neglect of aged ministers is a lamentable evil, but that of the widows and children of those who are gone, is, if possible, greater. An old servant of God, with his venerable hairs, will be remembered, and will be comforted by some of the compassionate sons of nature, if the churches neglect him; but the widow and fatherless are in danger of being entirely forgotten. There is the lonely consort of the man, who was once zealously engaged in the service of his God; but who was taken away in the meridian of his days. She was once respected and happy; her house was the resort of ministers and Christian friends, in whose prayers she was always remembered. But now those for whom she toiled, like Mar ha, pass her by. The churches have nothing of all their stores to spare for her comfort, and with her tender and fatherless babes, she is left in a wide world, forsaken and disconsolate. I cannot refrain from weeping while I write; and it is hoped that these suggestions will not be in vain

It is proper here to observe, that the Warren Association, many years ago, adopted the benevolent custom of making an annual collection, at the close of the Association sermon, for the express purpose of assisting the widows and fatherless children of such ministers as have deceased in their connexion. Some of their collections have amounted to about an hundred dollars, though they are generally considerably under that sum A committee of judicious brethren is immediately appointed to divide these collections according to their discretion, and distribute the dividends to their proper objects. The Boston Association has adopted the same custom. If all Associations would do the same, much good, we are confident, might be done.

Churches, and other religious institutions, often lose much of their funds for the want of those prudent measures, which every man thinks it necessary to use for the security of his own property.

Many of our churches, especially of late years, have built their large and costly houses of worship so much on credit, that they are obliged either to travel extensively to solicit aid, which has become an irksome task, or else remain long in debt and embarrassment.

By reviewing the foregoing sketches, we see that the Baptists have spread over a wide extent of territory in this western world, and have increased to a numerous body. They now fill posts of honour and profit in every department of State. They officiate as Members of the Council of the Nation, Judges, Generals, Counsellors, and Magistrates; and in every branch of government, whether legislative, executive, or judiciary, they are found.

Under these considerations, two passages of scripture suggest themselves to our minds; *The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad. Be not high minded, but fear.*

TABLE OF ASSOCIATIONS.

Taken from the Luminary for May, 1820; prepared by Rev. Mr. Rice, Agent for the General Convention of the Baptists in the U. S.

TABLE.

Associations.	*Sts.*	*C.*	*M.*	*Tot.*	*Associations.*	*Sts.*	*C.*	*M.*	*Tot.*	*Associations.*	*Sts.*	*C.*	*M.*	*Tot.*
Bowdoinham,	Me.	42	35	2435	Kotockton,	Va	39	23	4262	Holston,	Ten.	18	9	1085
Lincoln,	Me	49	25	7793	Strawberry,	Va.	21	10	684	Tennessee,	Ten.	29	41	1675
Cumberland,	Me.	29	29	2048	Dover,	Va.	39			Cumberland,	Ten.	12	7	577
York,	Me.	28	23	1641	Middle Dist.	Va.	9	8		Red River,	Ten.	30	25	1689
East. Maine,	Me.	15	12	1042	Roanoke,	Va.	30	19	2840	Elk River,	Ten	24	4	1342
Meredith,	N.H.	11	14	1146	Portsmouth,	Va.	24	14	2237	Concord,	Ten.	39	24	2437
Dublin,	N.H.	22	12	1016	Albemarle,	Va.	10	10		Can ork,	Ten.	11	12	472
Shaftsbury,	Vt.	31	2	3574	Goshen,	Va.	28	17		Elkhorn,	Ky.	30	17	3719
Woodstock,	Vt	24	26	2249	Shiloh,	Va.	20		1587	Salem,	Ky.	10	11	1564
Vermont,	Vt.	23	15	1903	New River,	Va	8	5		Tate's Creek,	Ky.	18	46	1202
Fairfield,	Vt.	16	4	875	Mayo,	Va.	15	14		Bracken,	Ky.	16		1286
Barre,	Vt.	16	5	154	Appomattox,	Va.	14	14		Green River,	Ky.	26	10	1671
Danville,	Vt.	12	6	382	Meherrin,	Va.	6	8	1046	North Bend,	Ky.	19	25	1375
Manchester,	Vt.	8	5	683	Union,	Va.	20	9	1522	North Dist.	Ky.	23		2075
Leyden,	Ms.	31	30	2423	Green Brier,	Va.	5	5	147	South Dist.	Ky.	20	10	1426
Sturbridge,	Ms	26	28	1931	Accomack,	Va.	6	5	685	Long Run,	Ky.	35		3012
Boston,	Ms	36	29	3650	Washington,	Va.	15	6	533	Russel's Cr	Ky	20	13	1012
Westfield,	Ms	11	7	895	Teass Valley,	Va	13	6	382	Stockton's V	Ky	15	8	762
Warren,	R.I.	42		4797	Parkersburg,	Va.	6	3	875	Emancipat.	Ky.	5		116
Yearly Meet	R.I.	17	14	4752	Sandy Creek,	N C	13	8	771	Licking,	Ky.	22	7	932
New London,	Ct.	18	26	1981	Kehukee,	N C.	31	18	1634	Cumb. River,	Ky.	8	13	720
Stoningt. Un	Ct.	17	13	3051	Yadkin,	N.C.	15	12	898	Gasper River,	Ky	22		1061
Hartford,	Ct.	2	0	2249	Flat River,	N C.	11	6	1107	Little River,	Ky.	30	18	1057
New York,	N.Y.	25	20	1775	Neuse,	N C	22	6	937	Burning Sp.	Ky.	12	10	359
Warwick,	N.Y.	16	12	1467	Mountain,	N.C.	14	12	783	Union,	Ky.	12	4	553
Otsego,	N Y.	34	19	2321	Cape Fear,	N.C.	22		1476	Franklin,	Ky.	12	9	1083
Chemung,	N Y	6	12	833	Chowan,	N.C	26	14	1755	South Union,	Ky	9	6	260
Rensselærv.	N Y.	9	18	902	Country Line,	N C	11	9	784	Goshen,	Ky.	18	9	512
Cayuga,	N.Y	34	20	3053	Raleigh,	N.C	15	7	742	Miami,	Ohio	19	11	744
Essex,	N Y	9	5	508	French Broad,	N C.	19	11	636	Scioto,	Ohio	16	13	582
Saratoga,	N Y	25	18	3722	Pee Dee,	N C.	10	7	637	Beaver,	Ohio	21	15	756
Black River,	N Y	21	16	1411	Charleston,	S.C.	36	25	3658	Strait Creek,	Ohio	5	3	97
Madison,	N Y	42	30	3225	Bethel.	S.C.	36	29	2159	Muskingum,	Ohio	17	12	575
Lake George,	N.Y.	6	7	267	Broad River,	S C.	30	17	1716	Mad River,	Ohio	19	11	596
Union,	N Y	13	8	1042	Saluda,	S C.	29	15	1015	Little Miami,	Ohio	12	5	481
Frankland,	N.Y	20	15	2105	Edgefield,	S.C.	42	13	2445	Grand River,	Ohio	16	8	447
Holland Pur	N.Y.	22	6	1088	Moriah,	S.C	10	9	502	Eagle Creek,	Ohio	3		104
St. Lawrence,	N Y	10	5	889	Georgia,	Geo.	56	21	2803	Columbus,	Ohio	2	7	307
Ontario,	N Y.	39	21	2486	Hephzibah,	Geo.	37	15	1835	Salem,	Ohio	4	2	128
Hudson Riv.	N Y	6	8	352	Sarepta,	Geo.	37	18	1785	Wabash,	Ind.	14	8	393
Genesee,	N.Y.	15	10	779	Savannah, R.	Geo.	33	9	5771	White Water,	Ind	18	12	998
New-Jersey,	N J	24	15	1281	Oakmulgee,	Geo	39	2	2411	Silver Creek,	Ind.	14	2	511
Philadelphia,	Pa.	23	36	2994	Ebenezer,	Geo	19	11	681	Blue River,	Ind	24	15	709
Redstone,	Pa.	20	15	1119	Piedmont,	Geo	9	1	294	Illinois,	Illi	7	5	169
Abington,	Pa.	6	5	410	Sunbury,	Geo.				Missouri,	M'ri	10	7	221
Susquehann.	Pa.	10	5	475	Flint River,	Ala.	22	10	1213	Bethel,	M'ri	10	8	334
Delaware,	De.	8	7	525	Bushy,	Ala	12	8	313	Mt. Pleasant.	M'ri	5	6	161
Salisbury,	Md.	14	9	400	Cahawba,	Ala.	10	8	295					
Baltimore,	Md.	21	12	1256	Missisippi,	Mis.	42	20	1125					

145 associations—2848 churches—upwards of 2000 ministers. By the tables it appears that a considerable number of printed Minutes have not come to hand Our statement is consequently rendered defective. The above estimates, however, may be considered as falling below the real number.

N B. Some of the above Associations have arisen since the History of the Baptists was compiled; therefore an account of them has not appeared in our historical narrations.

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